FRAGIST

June, 1920

Will Women Vote In 1920?

Women's Part In Primaries and Conventions

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SUFFRAGIST

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THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

"ARTICLE—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

METHOD OF AMENDING THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES
ARTICLE V.

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the First Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

An Editorial

THE Republican Party is responsible for the continued delay in the ratification of the suffrage amendment.

If millions of women are excluded from the polls next November, as millions have already been from primaries and state conventions, the Republican Party will be to blame.

The National Woman's Party is not actuated by partisan motives when it places responsibility for the completion of women's enfranchisement on the shoulders of one party.

When the amendment was in Congress, the Woman's Party constantly held before the people of the country and their political leaders the responsibility of the Democratic Party and its head, President Wilson, for the fate of the amendment. The Democratic Party controlled Congressional party machinery, it controlled the majority of the votes in Congress, and its leader controlled his party. The issue was plain.

With the ratification campaign, the situation was reversed. The Republican Party does not control every state in the union, but it does control the majority of the states, and it controls those states in which there are no complicating issues of such extraordinary intensity as are met in every one of the solidly Democratic states.

The Republican Party alone could not have secured the ratification of the amendment. But its share of responsibility for ratification must be proportionate to its power, which, as far as this issue is concerned, is predominant.

After a year's campaign of unparalleled intensity on the part of women, there still remains one state to be won. Our fight is unfinished because of the failure of the Republican Party to act. Ratification has progressed so far as it has in spite of, in many instances, the dilatory and obstructive tactics of the Republican Party and its officials.

Final victory for the federal amendment now lies in the hands of the Republican Party. That party is in power in Delaware, Connecticut, and Vermont. It will be held responsible for Delaware, Connecticut and Vermont. Unless it wishes to exclude women from the 1920 elections the Republican Party will complete the ratification of the amendment by favorable action in one of those states.

Drawn for the SUFFRAGIST *by Nina E. Allender.*

Suffragist—Father, Father, may I go out to swim?
Republican Party—Yes, my darling daughter, hang your clothes on a hickory limb, but don't go near the water.

The Ohio referendum case has been decided in favor of suffrage. The Supreme Court, June 1, declared a referendum on a constitutional amendment unnecessary and ineffective.

Forces For and Against Suffrage In Delaware

Thirty-Five States with a Population of Seventy-eight Million have Ratified the Amendment. One State with a Population of Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Blocks their Will

IT is very charming, the Dover Green, shaded by aged trees and faced at one end by the quaintly serene little State House and by a grave little church at the other.

Echoes of Revolutionary days seem to come from the Green and the State House, reminders of the day when a rider, hot from a breathless trip from Philadelphia, brought news of the signing of the Declaration of Independence and an excited crowd burned the picture of King George on that same Dover Green—

"Compelled by strong necessity," they said, "thus we destroy even the shadow of that King who refused to reign over a free people."

Death knell to the tyranny of one man over his fellows, these words sounded the keynote of revolutionary Delaware. Their spirit lived again when the name of Delaware took first place among the signers of the Constitution of the young American republic. They will be fulfilled if Delaware, by ratifying the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution, completes the political democracy for which the Revolution was fought.

Other evidences of traditional days remain on the Green. The whipping post, in use until recently, stands in the Sheriff's yard, adjoining the State House. Whipping as a punishment for misdemeanors is still permitted in Delaware, but the official post is now in Newcastle.

On the other side of the State House stands a log cabin used as a lawyer's office and apparently as it was fifty years ago.

All of Dover, and of the state, speaks of tradition and seclusion from the currents of today. Events which shake the nation are comparatively unfelt in Delaware. The state is entirely rural, with the exception of Wilmington, and there is little traffic with the "outside" world. A newspaper man tells of seeing near Dover, the other day, a yoke of oxen drawing a plough, after the manner of centuries ago.

Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Delaware Chairman of the Woman's Party, greets Alfred I. DuPont, who attended a meeting of the Delaware legislature for the first time in years to work for suffrage ratification.

It is not surprising, therefore, that woman suffrage, with which nearly all the nation is well acquainted, is still somewhat of a new thing to the men and women of Delaware. The Woman's Party, beginning last June its campaign for ratification in the state, had to begin almost at the very beginning using the propaganda methods found necessary in the pioneer stages of suffrage, informing and educating the people. A brilliant political campaign to secure the support of political leaders has gone hand in hand with this educational work.

Almost unbelievable progress has been made. When on March 22 the legislature convened in special session, a majority against suffrage existed in both Houses. Support of ratification by political leaders was either lukewarm or entirely lacking.

Today, ratification has passed by a good margin in the Delaware Senate, the heavy anti-suffrage majority in the House has been changed to an almost decisive pro-suffrage strength, and nearly every Republican political influence in the state lined up on the side of ratification.

The strength of the suffrage position was strikingly demonstrated on May 17 at the Republican caucus held after the reconvening of the legislature, when for the first time in years all the dominating Republican powers in the state buried political differences to join efforts publicly on behalf

of ratification. Delaware regarded as almost a miracle the appearance of General T. Coleman Du Pont, Republican national committeeman, Pierre Du Pont, and Alfred I. Du Pont together at the the capital on that day to work for suffrage.

That miracle, and the suffrage progress it signified, was the result of a campaign which has neglected no corner of the state, no legislator, no political leader, a campaign which has been planned and carried out in the most careful detail, both from Washington and in Delaware, by the officers and organizers of the Woman's Party.

Six national organizers, Mary DuBrow, Anita Pollitzer, Catherine Flanagan, Betty Gram, Vivian Pierce, Elsie Hill, with national officers including Alice Paul, national chairman; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, national ratification chairman; Mabel Vernon, national secretary of the Woman's Party, and state officers led by Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, state chairman, have worked all or a large part of the past two and a half months in Delaware.

Their intensive work resulted in the triumph of suffrage ratification in the Senate on May 5, after the recess of twelve days voted by the legislature. The vote in the Senate was 11 to 6, with every member present and voting. The vote stood:

For Ratification—11

Republicans—10—Allee, Bennett, Handy, Long, Pool, Highfield, Richards, Robertson, Short, Walker.

Democrats—1—Price.

Against Ratification—6

Democrats—4—Gormley, Hollett, Latta, Murphy.

Republicans—2—Brown, Palmer.

The ratification resolution was introduced in the Senate by Senator John M. Walker, Republican, at half past three in the afternoon, but two substitute resolutions introduced by Senator Gormley, Democrat, intended to defeat ratification, and the discussion on both sides of the question postponed the vote until 5 o'clock.

Senator Walker, introducing the suffrage measure, made a speech that by its sincerity and spirit of justice thrilled every suffragist who heard it, and deeply impressed those most opposed to woman's enfranchisement.

Senator Walker began his speech for the amendment by quoting Lincoln. "I am for it because it is *right,*" he said, and then went on: "We have been endorsing injustice for half a century. I have never been able to understand how a Congress could refuse to women the right of suffrage which had been conferred on negroes just out of slavery.

Suffrage Is Right—and Inevitable

"I consider that this movement is in accord with the progress and the justice and the equity of the times. Thousands of women living in every part of the country have now no representative at the polls. *This is not fair.* That a majority of people throughout the country are in favor of the ratification of this amendment is evident from the ratification map. I believe that a majority of the people of Delaware, also, want it. You might as well sweep the waves

WOMAN'S PARTY LEADERS CONFERRING WITH REPUBLICAN LEADERS IN DELAWARE

Left to right: Walter E. Hart, representative, who introduced the ratification measure in the House; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Delaware Chairman of the Woman's Party; Miss Katherine Hilles, National Committeeman T. Coleman DuPont, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, National Ratification Chairman of the Woman's Party, and U. S. Senator L. Heisler Ball of Delaware.

back with a broom as to try to stop this movement, it can't be done. It is only a matter of weeks before a state of one party or the other will pass the amendment. Both parties are committed to it. Simply because the Democratic party has failed in its duty in the past four years is no reason why the Republican should fail now. Delaware owes it to itself to ratify the suffrage amendment."

Senator James F. Allee, Jr., one of the leaders of the suffrage forces in the Senate, was constantly valuable because of his knowledge as a lawyer and his convincing arguments on constitutional points were listened to with the closest attention. Answering the objection that the federal suffrage amendment would override the constitution of Delaware and would, therefore, be unconstitutional, he cited the cases brought by Delaware and Georgia in connection with the fifteenth amendment. The United States Supreme Court handed down decisions in both cases upholding the constitutionality of the amendment.

"The Articles of Confederation proved the impracticability of requiring a unanimous vote before they could be amended," Senator Allee pointed out. "It was because this provision was found to be impossible that the constitutional convention which adopted our present constitution was held. Its adoption was by no means unanimous in the various states. Virginia, for instance, ratified by a majority of only ten, after weeks of debate."

The Legislature Recesses

After the passage of the ratification measure by the Senate it would, in the usual course of events, have gone to the House. The suffrage supporters in the Senate, however, signified their intention of holding the joint resolution in their hands until a majority for it was assured in the lower branch of the legislature. After a day of debate it was found impossible to secure definite assurance of the needed votes and the legislature adjourned until May 17.

This interval was used by the Woman's Party to continue the campaign against suffrage opponents through petitions, mass meetings, and the appeals of state leaders. The influence of President De Valera and of Mr. Frank Walsh, and of other leading supporters of the cause of Irish freedom was used on behalf of suffrage with the four Irish members of the lower House who have been counted on the anti side.

President De Valera, with Mr. Walsh and James K. McGuire, went twice to Wilmington and in long conversations with the Irish members urged the importance of aiding the freedom of American women. President De Valera, who favors suffrage on principle, expressed himself as desirous that all exponents of the cause of Irish self-government should show their sincerity by advocating self-government for all peoples.

Working with President De Valera on behalf of suffrage in Delaware have been, beside Mr. Walsh and Mr. McGuire, Mr. John De Voy, secretary of the Friends of Irish Freedom; President Downing, of the District of Columbia Friends of Irish Freedom, President Healy, of Georgetown University, and John E. Milholland.

The Suffrage Invasion of Dover

When the legislature reconvened on May 17, Dover was flooded with suffragists, and the purple, white and gold of the Woman's Party colors outshone the antis' red roses.

The Republicans in the House caucused in the afternoon, following a conference with the State leaders of the party, including T. Coleman Du Pont, Alfred I. Du Pont, Pierre Du Pont, United States Senator Ball, Congressman Layton, former Governor Miller, former Governor Pennewill, Governor Townsend and members of the Republican state committee. All these leaders appealed to the Republican legislators for suffrage support on the ground of party loyalty, as well as of justice and right.

The caucus, although it did not yield the looked-for addition to the suffrage forces, did indicate the importance attached to ratification by the men most influential in the life of Delaware. It also led to the trip of a "flying squadron" on behalf of ratification through the portions of Sussex where suffrage opposition is most strongly entrenched by General Du Pont, president pro-tem of the Senate; I. D. Short, Daniel J. Layton, retiring state chairman, and Simeon S. Pennewill, delegate to the national Republican convention from Sussex.

On May 25th the Democratic State Convention meeting at Dover passed the following resolution:

> "We recommend that the autonomy of states be preserved, that we disapprove the apparent ease with which the Constitution of the United States is amended. We favor the referendum to the citizens of our states and nation of any amendment to our fundamental laws."

On May 26, the American Federation of Labor threw its weight on the side of ratification. Mr. Emmett L. Adams, representing the National Federation, went to Dover and with a committee of representatives of the local labor bodies, including Mr. John Sailor, of the Central Labor Union of Wilmington, and Mr. Daniel Buckley, organizer for the International Machinists, addressed the Democratic caucus, interviewed the members of the legislature and held two mass meetings in Wilmington. Mr. Frank Morrison, secretary of the Federation, has also sent an appeal to the legislature.

The ratification resolution was sent to the lower house from the Senate on Friday, May 28, and is now before that body waiting for action. The legislature has voted to adjourn on June 2.

Eleanor Taylor.

The lower House of the Delaware legislature, on June 2, by a vote of 24 to 10, refused to consider the ratification resolution and adjourned sine die.

No Vote No Money, Mr. Hays!

Women Refuse Support to the Republican Party While the Republican States of Delaware, Connecticut and Vermont Refuse Votes to Women

ON May 17 the Republicans of Delaware, meeting in conference at Dover, again failed to take any caucus action on the suffrage amendment. For two months the Delaware members of the Republican party had delayed the ratification of the amendment. Such lack of action amounted to a repudiation of the position of their party. For national Republican leaders to countenance it amounted to a denial of the Republican National Committee's action in endorsing ratification.

On May 18, Mr. Will H. Hays, chairman of the Republican party, had gathered together at the Hotel Willard in Washington a special audience of women, selected primarily for their wealth, in order that he might talk to them of the virtues of the Republican party and appeal to them for funds for its support.

On each chair at this meeting there was laid a slip which read in effect, "For the use of the Republican National Committee, I herewith enclose a check for $1,000." ———

To this meeting, where the help of women was to be solicited, members of the National Woman's Party went to ask Mr. Hays whether or not the Republicans intended to let women vote in 1920 by securing ratification from Delaware, Vermont or Connecticut. The meeting intended to secure funds from women was turned into one to secure votes for them.

Mr. Hays was eloquently introduced by the Republican district chairman, but he never properly began his speech nor did he ever properly end it. The Republican virtues which he enumerated were few.

As he rose from his seat on the platform, Miss Elsie Hill, daughter of the late Republican Congressman Hill of Connecticut, rose from her seat in the audience. No one will ever know what Mr. Hays intended to say to the 300 women "of means" gathered at the Hotel Willard. What Miss Hill said was, "Before you ask us to support the Republican party, Mr. Hays, won't you tell us what the Republican party is going to do about Delaware?"

The chairman of the meeting stepped forward to Mr. Hays' defense: "I am sure Mr. Hays, if he has time in the course of his remarks, will answer that question." Promptly Miss Sue White, of Nashville, Tenn., came forward with the request that the question be answered at once. Mr. Hays, approaching the front of the platform, apparently did not hear. His lips were opened for the first phrase of his speech when Mrs. Benigna Green Kalb, who had campaigned for the Republican party in Ohio, demanded, "Mr. Hays, women will not give money for the next elections until they know whether or not they are going to vote in them. In Delaware, Connecticut and Vermont the Republican party can answer that question."

Mr. Hays gave it up. "I suppose," he said, "I may as well take this matter up at once. My dear ladies, if any one of you knew anything whatever about practical politics, you would know that we do not carry legislatures around in our pockets. Why don't you go to Delaware and work for suffrage?"

That proved to be the wrong retort, for immediately from another section of the hall came the statement of Miss Anita Pollitzer:

"I have been working in Delaware, Mr. Hays, for six weeks. The legislators of Delaware seem to think that the Republican party can do something about suffrage in that state. One of the leading Republicans of the Lower House telephoned to me last night and asked: 'What are the national Republican leaders going to do about this deadlock here?'"

Mr. Hays had a moment of doubt, but he started off glibly again.

"Every Republican hopes that Delaware will ratify. Some one of the remaining states will be intelligent enough to act between now and election time. I feel sure you women will vote in the next election."

It is admitted by his worst enemies that Mr. Hays never made so many mistakes in so short a time. That remark about being "intelligent enough" was taken by the Delaware Legislature as a direct reflection upon it, and, as for his

331 W. 101st St.,
May 23, 1920.

MRS. CHARLES H. SABIN,
Chairman, Ways and Means Committee, New York City Republican Committee.

My dear Mrs. Sabin:

Your letter of May 23d, asking me, as an enrolled Republican, to contribute toward the campaign *fund* of the Republican National Committee, and thus cooperate toward electing a Republican President, "the first real opportunity to justify the enfranchisement of women," has been received.

May I call your attention to the fact, of which you seem to be unaware, that the women of the United States are *not enfranchised,* and that millions of them will have *no* voice in the coming election, because of the fact that when the Federal Suffrage Amendment had passed the House and required but a single vote to pass the Senate, Mr. Wadsworth, a Republican Senator, disregarded the mandate of his constituents and voted in the negative? By his negative vote, he prevented the passage of the amendment in the 65th Congress and the consequent *ratification* in the long legislative session of 1919, when 42 legislatures were in session, 36 of which were pledged to ratify.

While you are making an appeal for funds from women the Republicans controlling the Delaware Legislature have refused to ratify the amendment, and the Republican governors of Connecticut and Vermont refuse to call special sessions of the legislatures of their states for the purpose of ratification.

I am sorry not to be able to comply with your request.

Sincerely yours,
J. NORMAN SMITH
(MRS. CLARENCE M. SMITH),
Congressional District Chairman,
National Woman's Party.

being sure that women would vote in the next elections, Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, political chairman of the Woman's Party, rose to her feet with the query: "Mr. Hays, why are you sure women will vote in the next elections? If the Republican party can not persuade the Republican Legislature of Delaware to ratify, can it persuade the Republican governors of Connecticut and Vermont to call special sessions, or are you depending upon the Democratic states to enfranchise the women to whom your party is now appealing for funds?"

Credit, But No Responsibility

Mr. Hays reiterated his assurance about women voting in 1920; he claimed the Republican party should be given credit for their enfranchisement, since it had given 29 of the 35 states, and again disclaimed any power to secure the 36th. He was then permitted to talk uninterruptedly for some five minutes about what the Republican party would guarantee its members (who could not be controlled) would do if elected to office.

Mr. Hays had reached that point in his speech where he talked about Abraham Lincoln. He had raised his arms over his head, the better to inspire his audience, when Miss Lucy Branham of Baltimore rose to bring the discussion back to Delaware. Mr. Hays assumed a double personality. Looking at his uplifted hands, he exclaimed: "The great Republican leaders of the past—" and then, with a glance down between his arms, he murmured: "Not now, young lady, not now." Again with an upward glance: "—have set the standard." Miss Branham marched up the aisle. Mr. Hays' arms fell in the midst of a sentence. "In conclusion," he said, "I desire to state that the few women who are about to be enfranchised could do no better . . . . ." As a matter of fact, no one ever did know what Mr. Hays said in conclusion, nor was any announcement ever made about how many thousand-dollar checks were secured at this meeting.

Women Refuse Funds

Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood, one of the large contributors to the Republican party in other years, though she did not attend the meeting, announced before it that her practice of contributing to the Republican party would be discontinued until the suffrage amendment was ratified. How reluctant women are to support candidates in whose choice women do not have an equal voice, and for whom women will not be allowed to vote, is given in the accompanying letter from Mrs. Clarence M. Smith of New York City, district chairman of the Woman's Party, to Mrs. Charles H. Sabin, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the New York City Republican Committee.

England's "Medieval" Divorce

Progress Up to Date of the Divorce Reform Bill in the English Parliament— The Government Fails to Stand by Majority Report of Royal Commission

THE attention given in the press of all countries to the efforts of English men and women to secure a reform in the divorce laws of that nation, and the fact that laws concerning marriage, divorce and illegitimacy have been introduced or proposed in many other European countries, indicate the deep concern felt by the people of this generation in these questions of human relationships. The war destruction of great masses of the male population, and the changed position of women in all fields of life, has made these questions and their wise settlement vital to the life of the world.

The following account of the English Divorce Reform Bill is by Mr. Karl Walter, English correspondent of the Foreign Press Service.

* * * * * * *

Divorce reform, regarded by many as one of the most urgent problems England has to face, is not likely to move very rapidly, to judge by the discussion in the House of Commons of the proposals embodied in a House of Lords bill.

As the British law stands at present, a man can obtain a divorce from his wife for adultery alone, but a woman must prove not only adultery against her husband but also physical cruelty or desertion. Public sentiment today is unanimously against the continuance of this inequality between husband and wife. Again, a husband may go off to the ends of the earth, leaving his wife and children to starve, and still remain immune from divorce. The law of Scotland is different in this respect, desertion for four years being recognized as a ground for divorce.

The inequality between rich and poor is also emphasized under the existing law. In 1912 the cost of a divorce was estimated at a minimum of $500. An attempt was made to remove the disqualification of the poor during the war by setting up, in connection with the High Court, a "poor persons department," where persons below a certain level of income can obtain free legal services. But as railroad fares to London still have to be paid, together with all the out-of-pocket expenses of lawyer and witnesses, the relief was not entirely effective. The cost of a divorce through this department still comes to between $150 and $300, which is prohibitive for a large number of people.

Judicial Separation

The inequalities and difficulties which the law presents to those who desire absolute legal separation are admitted

to be the cause of much immorality in England. The morality of the nation is further confused by what is known as judicial separation under which husband and wife are legally separated but are not free to re-marry. It is comparatively easy to obtain judicial separation—the legal grounds being adultery, cruelty or desertion. Not less than 7,000 decrees of judicial separation are issued every year by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, and in addition there are those of the High Court and separations arranged by private deed. It is estimated that, taking into account all the means of legal separation, there are one million married persons in England living apart but not free to re-marry.

This aspect was one of the serious circumstances which led to the appointment of the Royal Commission on Divorce which reported as long ago as 1912. The Commission came to the conclusion that evidence showed judicial separation to be "an unnatural and unsatisfactory remedy leading to evil consequences." Two reports were issued—a majority report and a minority report. It is the recommendations of the majority report which have been embodied in the bill now before the House of Lords and which were the subject of a resolution in the House of Commons this week. This resolution was defeated and replaced by an amendment putting forward the views of the Minority Report.

Grounds for Divorce

Both reports agreed that there should be equality between the sexes and between the rich and poor. They differed on the question of legal grounds. The Minority limited these to the one cause of adultery. The Majority recommended that there should be these additional grounds: desertion for three years, cruelty, insanity after five years confinement, habitual drunkenness found incurable after three years and imprisonment under a commuted death penalty. They also recommended that there should be local jurisdiction in divorce cases, that the judicial separation order given by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction should be limited to purely temporary relief, and that the absurd suits for the "restitution of conjugal rights," which now constitute a preliminary to divorce suits, should be abolished. All the Commissioners agreed that the courts should have power to enforce great restrictions on the publication of evidence given before them.

The Minority Report was signed by the Archbishop of York and two Ecclesiastical lawyers. The main reason they gave against the extension of grounds was that "grave disasters" had followed the adoption of such grounds in the United States. They also considered that there was no general demand for greater facilities for divorce among the poor.

Unmarried and Unable to Marry

The resolution introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Rendall, a Coalition Liberal member, called for the putting into legislative effect without delay of the recommendations contained in the Majority Report. He pointed out in support of it that there were at present "thousands of deserted wives and a large number of deserted husbands, who were placed in the impossible position of having no spouse but being unable to marry." Colonel Nathan Raw, in seconding the resolution, asserted that there were between 30,000 and 40,000 married persons certified incurably insane in the United Kingdom, whose husbands or wives under the existing laws could do nothing.

The "Constancy" of Men and Women

The amendment following the Minority Report, was moved by Ronald McNeill, a Coalition Unionist member. It read: "That in the opinion of this House, while it is desirable to place the sexes on a footing of equality with regard to divorce, any change in the law that would impair the permanence of the marriage contract would be harmful to the best interests of the community." One of the main contentions against broadening the grounds for divorce was that it would lead to an immense increase of cases of collusion. Divorce by desertion would be practically equal to divorce by consent—in this connection it must be remembered that the King's Proctor watches all divorce cases for evidence of collusion and has full power to introduce evidence of this and so prevent a decree being issued. Mr. McNeill wanted the governing consideration to be the manner in which marriages which were **not** failures would be affected by the proposed changes in the law. He was confident that women would be the chief sufferers if the proposed changes were carried.

"Constancy," he said, "is a virtue less characteristic of men than of women, but the attributes that attract the opposite sex wither more readily in the female than in the male." If these changes were made, he continued, it was the women whose youth had disappeared who would be the victims.

The Government Takes No Part

The government took no side in the debate. The amendment was carried by a majority of 43 and was subsequently agreed to as a substantive resolution. This means that, as in the case of the Coal Commission, the government will not stand by the Majority Report of the Royal Commission. It will prevent the government from accepting Lord Buckmaster's Bill even if it passes its third reading in the House of Lords. It does not pledge the government to bring in a bill to give effect to the Minority Report, though this is still possible and would at least mean the abolition of the present inequality between husband and wife. In effect, therefore, it is a setback for the advocates of divorce reform, and has been so regarded by public and press. The *Times* commented on it under the title "A Medieval Vote," saying that it showed the House of Commons "for what it is: the most medieval chamber in living memory . . . Nothing," it concludes, "could better illustrate the reactionary spirit of the present House."

Karl Walter.

MEN AND WOMEN WHO HELPED TO SECURE THE PASSAGE OF A RESOLUTION IN THE VERMONT REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION ON MAY TWENTY-SIXTH, CALLING UPON GOVERNOR CLEMENT FOR A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE TO RATIFY THE SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT.

Above, left to right—Congressman Porter Dale, chairman of the convention; Miss Betty Gram, national organizer of the Woman's Party; Charles Danna, Speaker of the House of Vermont; Mrs. Lillian Olzendam, chairman of State Ratification Committee; Representative George Dunham, Mrs. J. Borden Estee, Vermont Chairman of National Woman's Party; Representative George E. Child, Miss Ann Batchelder, of Woodstock; Representative L. D. Wheeler, Dr. Anna Kelton, Vermont Treasurer of the National Woman's Party.

At right—Mr. Collins Graves, Secretary of State Republican Committee; Miss Betty Gram, who addressed resolutions committee, holding a copy of the resolution calling upon the Governor for a special session after its adoption by the convention, and Mr. John E. Piddock, Chairman of State Republican Committee.

Two Men vs. 27,000,000 Women

WOMEN have been told that this government is of, for and by the people.

They have also been told that it is a government by parties.

Governors Holcomb and Clement of Connecticut and Vermont would lead us to amend these notions.

Both of these governors have shown themselves impervious to the sentiment of their states and to the appeals of their party.

The final effort to overcome Governor Clement's resistance, which he has now maintained for over a year, was made by the Republican state convention on May 26, when the following resolution was adopted in the presence of Governor Clement and amid cheers and hat-throwing:

> "Whereas the proposed nineteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, giving the right of suffrage to women, now needs ratification by only one more state in order to become a part of the organic law of the land, and
>
> "Whereas we have full faith and confidence that the voters of the state of Vermont, regardless of party affiliations, would cordially approve and endorse such ratification; now, therefore, be it
>
> "*Resolved*, That we, the representatives of the Republican party of the state of Vermont, in convention assembled, do respectfully request and urge his excellency the Governor of the state of Vermont to call at an early date a special session of the Legislature to consider the ratification of said amendment.
>
> "*And be it further resolved*, That the secretary of this convention deliver to his excellency the Governor a copy of this resolution."

Miss Betty Gram and Mrs. Lillian Olzendam addressed the resolutions committee of the convention on the preceding day. Mrs. J. Borden Estee, Vermont chairman of the Woman's Party; Miss Eveline Lease, secretary; Dr. Anna Kelton, treasurer; Mrs. Wilmot Hastings, legislative chairman, were all present at the convention when the resolution was adopted. A committee of a hundred prominent Vermont men is being formed to visit the Governor and demand a special session.

This convention appeal followed repeated petitions, including a resolution adopted by the Republican state committee urging a special session, and repeated deputations of hundreds of Vermont women waited upon the Governor with the appeal of the women of his state.

So far Governor Clement has been less definite than Governor Holcomb in his answers to the appeals made to him. To the state Republican committee he replied that he would call the session if advised by the state attorney general that the legislature's action on the amendment would be constitutional.

Governor Clement Dodges the Issue

With the deputations of Vermont women, he dodged the issue by saying that it was desirable that the people who now hold the right of suffrage should control this question, apparently implying that their voice could not be heard through their duly elected representatives.

It is possible that the resolution passed by the Republican state convention may have the desired influence on the Governor. A similar situation occurred in Oklahoma, where Governor Robertson for a long time refused to call a special session, but acceded to the request of the Democratic state convention. Ratification by Oklahoma immediately followed the meeting of the legislature. Ratification by Vermont would also, it is believed, follow the calling of a special session there.

The action of the state convention in Vermont came after a thorough campaign by Mrs. Estee, Mrs. Albion Lang, of the national advisory council, and other members of the party, aided by Miss Catherine Flannagan, Miss Gram and Miss Elsie Hill, national organizers. All delegates to the state convention were interviewed to secure their support of the resolution.

Governor Holcomb Can't See An Emergency

Governor Holcomb of Connecticut has likewise resisted every demand.

> "We denounce the autocratic and calculated disregard by the Governor of the voice of the sovereign people of Connecticut calling upon him to summon into special session the legislature of the state, thus not only flagrantly thwarting the unmistakable will of the people, but withholding from our commonwealth the proud privilege of confirming forever the political emancipation of the womanhood of America."

This rebuke to Governor Holcomb, the official utterance of the Connecticut Democratic convention on May 6, followed appeals from nearly every prominent Republican in the state, of the Republican state committee and state convention, and of hundreds of influential men and women, for a special session, affording the legislature an opportunity to act on the suffrage amendment.

Here is the list of the appeals of the people of his state and party which Governor Holcomb has one by one denied:

1. Last September a petition signed by a majority of the members of both parties and of both houses of the legislature requested the Governor to issue a call for a special session.
2. The Republican state convention called for a special session, March 24.
3. The Republican ratification committee, composed of leading Republicans of the state at a public hearing, added its plea for a special session.
4. A petition urging ratification was sent to the Republican State Central Committee from 478 Republicans.
5. Large delegations of suffragists have repeatedly presented to the Governor the earnest desire of the women of Connecticut and the nation that the legislature be convened.

In addition to the public hearings, individual appeals have been made to Governor Holcomb by former President Taft, Chairman Homer Cummings of the Democratic National Committee, Senators McLean and Brandegee, as well as the Republican congressional delegation of Connecticut and prominent Republicans of the state, including John T. Robinson, Judge Arthur Ells of Waterbury and Mayor Fitzgerald of New Haven.

The sense of shame felt by many members of the Governor's party because of his attitude is expressed in a telegram congratulating President Pro Tem. I. D. Short of the Delaware Senate after the suffrage victory there, and urging that he use his influence to see that the Delaware House ratify, signed by Lieutenant-Governor Clifford Wilson and other Republicans, "on behalf of the Republican Legislature of Connecticut, which was denied the right to express its favorable position by an anti-suffrage governor."

The Legislature Protests

Governor Holcomb's attitude is indicated in his statement of May 11 in reply to the delegation of state suffragists. He said:

> "The arguments presented at the hearing last Friday and at the several previous hearings prove that among many women and some men in this and other states who believe in woman suffrage there is a strong desire that a special session of the General Assembly be called to act upon the federal suffrage amendment and not wait until the regular session next January; but these arguments do not prove or tend to prove the existence of the special emergency mentioned in our constitution which is the only authority given the Governor to call a special session.
>
> "My conception of the constitutional limitation of the authority of the Governor compels me to decline to call a special session as you request."

Other States File Objections

Pressure is now coming from other states which see their ratification of the suffrage amendment nullified in effect by the delay in these last four states. The Republican state advisory committee of Ohio, for instance, has sent telegrams to Republican leaders of Vermont and Connecticut urging them to insist upon special sessions. Similar action was taken recently by prominent Republicans of Colorado and other western suffrage states.

The responsibility as to whether Connecticut and Vermont will have a share in the enfranchisement of American women is squarely upon Governors Holcomb and Clement and the Republican party for whose policies they are supposed to stand.

The Law and the Lady

In Fifty Years the Number of Women Lawyers in this Country was Increased from None to Fifteen Hundred—How Soon Will a Woman Sit on the Supreme Bench?

NEARLY a century ago little Elizabeth Cady (later Mrs. Stanton) woke up to the fact that the laws were very unjust to women—particularly married women. Pouring over the statutes of the State of New York, standing on the library shelves of her father, Judge Cady, she decided to do away with these impediments to the progress of her sex by cutting them out of the big calf-bound volumes. Needless to say, her father soon discovered this act of what seemed to him vandalism, and proceeded to tell his daughter that until repealed by the legislature they were the laws which governed the Empire State.

It was in Iowa in 1869, the same year that women first achieved a voice in making the laws by being granted the vote in Wyoming, that they won the right to help in its interpretation and administration. Mrs. Emma Haddock, wife of Judge Haddock, of Iowa City, was admitted to the bar and shortly after, Mrs. B. A. Mansfield and Mrs. J. Ellen Foster were admitted. The statute in Iowa provides that "any white male person" with the necessary qualifications might be licensed to practice, and the court held that admitting the male person was not an implied denial to the female person of the same right. If other judges had been equally open-minded, how much trouble would have been saved and how much force and time conserved to be used in other progressive causes.

Women Admitted to the Bar

Mrs. Myra Bradwell, editor of the *Legal News* in Chicago, applied for admission to the bar in Illinois and was refused because she was a married woman. Miss Alta Hulett, after careful preparation in a law office in Rockford, Illinois, applied for examination and admission to the bar and was refused. Her cause was ably championed by Judge Lathrop, father of Miss Julia Lathrop, chief of the Federal Children's Bureau, and the legislature passed a bill which provided "that no person shall be precluded or debarred from any occupation, profession or employment (except military) on account of sex." In 1879 Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, of the bar of the District of Columbia, procured the passage of an act by the Congress of the United States allowing women to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States on the same terms as men and she was the first woman to argue a case there, which she also won. Strange to say, she was in 1884 refused admission to the United States Court of Claims bar, because she was a married woman, but soon after the court reversed itself and she had a large and lucrative practice in Indian claims.

Perhaps one of the greatest barriers to the progress of women in the law as a profession has been that very few of

Mrs. Ellen Spencer Mussey, founder and honorary Dean of the Washington College of Law, the first college to admit women to the study of law.

the standard law schools have admitted women as students, and when the doors were rather grudgingly opened, there were no women on the faculty, and various impediments made the position of the woman student almost unbearable.

The First Law School for Women

At the National Capital in 1896 none of the white law schools admitted women. Three earnest women who desired to take up legal studies—Delia Sheldon Jackson, Mrs. Nanette B. Paul and Helen Malcolm—prevailed upon the writer to teach them constitutional law, and Miss Emma M. Gillett taught the common law as expounded by Blackstone. From this beginning came the Washington College of Law, incorporated in 1898, "primarily for women," but co-educational. In 1899 the first class of six women was graduated and for the first time in the history of the world a woman dean conferred the degree of LL.B. on women. The class numbered six women, and the president of the Board of Trustees was Hon. Edward F. Bingham, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The high standing of the school has drawn a large number of fine men as students and graduates, and no objection is made or felt to a woman dean (Miss Emma Gillett having succeeded the first dean) or to women as fellow students. Now all the law schools in Washington except the Catholic colleges (they being incorporated solely by men) admit women. A majority of the law schools of the country also are now open to women, but in the New York University,

only, are women on the faculty. The last university to open its doors to women was the University of Virginia.

There are over two hundred women studying law in Washington at this time, and many hundred pursuing law courses in other cities. Last year there were about fifteen hundred women members of the bar throughout the country, all of the states now allowing women to practice except Virginia, but the last legislature removed the restrictions in that state on women, to take effect July 1 next. The thirteenth woman was admitted to the United States Supreme Court in 1896, and now there are so many that the Clerk of the Court says he has lost count of them.

Miss Pauline Floyd, graduate of the Washington College of Law, the youngest woman lawyer in the country.

Women Made Judges

Perhaps the most interesting phase of women's progress in the legal world is the rapidity with which she has gained judicial honors. First she was appointed as assistant judge in juvenile courts, so that the real man judge might have the benefit of her counsel when dealing with delinquent girls.

Since 1912 there has been an insistent demand for a woman judge of the Juvenile Court at the National Capital, and President Wilson appointed Miss Kathryn Sellers to that position in 1918, an appointment that met universal approval. Judge Sellers is a graduate of the Washington College of Law, holding the degrees of LL.B. and LL.M., and is also a member of the faculty, holding the professorship of International Law. She had been with the Carnegie Peace Foundation up to the time of the World War, when at Secretary Lansing's request she was loaned to the State Department to make a digest of existing troubles between the belligerent countries. In Judge Sellers the maternal instinct is very strong and she is rearing a motherless nephew and niece, who are very proud of "Aunt Kate." She has the happy faculty of tempering justice with mercy, so that she inspires confidence in both the delinquent children that come before her and the unhappy parents. The bastardy cases, which are tried, if desired by the accused, by a jury of twelve men, are from the nature of the offense, most unpleasant. The attorney for the accused in a recent case apologized for the nature and searching character of his examination, to which the Judge replied with appreciation of his courtesy that she was glad she (the Judge) was a woman; otherwise the girl involved would be alone in a court with only men.

Within the year Mrs. Jean Norris has been appointed a judge in New York City in the magistrate's court (the other other forty-two judges being men) with a salary of $8,000 per annum. While she can be assigned to any division of this court, so far she has held the Woman's Court and the Court of Domestic Relations in rotation, and she is fully equal to the demands consequent on meeting the women of the underworld at close range—from the young wife about to become a mother, driven by hunger, when the allotment from her soldier husband failed to reach her, to try "to play the game," to the beautiful vamp, a menace to all with whom she comes in contact. Judge Norris knows and helps her sex as no man could.

Women as Prosecutors

As prosecutors, Mrs. Annette A. Adams, United States District Attorney at San Francisco, is the most prominent, but there are many women assistant district attorneys throughout the country, and Miss Florence Etheridge is probate attorney for the Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma.

Miss Clare Graecen has been for many years a law clerk in the Comptroller's office of the Treasury, and in all the departments, from the State Department down, women are occupying legal positions of importance.

In no profession are there greater opportunities for women today than in the law.

Ellen Spencer Mussey, LL.M.,
Honorary Dean, Washington College of Law.

Editor's Note

The SUFFRAGIST hopes to publish from time to time other articles dealing with the exact position women have achieved in the various professions, what foothold they have gained since the days when they were altogether excluded, to what positions of real power and responsibility they are now called or admitted and in how far all training facilities are open to them. We hope to have these articles written by women as qualified to speak in their line as is Mrs. Mussey in hers. Mrs. Mussey, whose seventieth birthday has just been celebrated in Washington, was not only a pioneer in opening the profession of the law to women, but was herself one of the first and most successful women in that profession. She was the thirteenth woman admitted to practice before the United States Supreme Court, and has won every case which she has carried before it.

Side Lights on the Louisiana Contest

ONE of the strangest ratification contests which has yet been staged in this country is beginning in Louisiana at the present moment, where suffrage friends have overnight become suffrage foes, and suffrage foes pose as suffrage friends; where a one-time Progressive of the Roosevelt school, the newly elected governor, John M. Parker, has retreated to a middle ground while a militant newspaper editor captains the whole battle. This melee is furnishing conversation for politicians, manicure girls, and shop girls, club women, labor men and women in every section of the state of Louisiana.

The suffrage curtain was formally rung up May 10, when the regular session of the general assembly of the state of Louisiana opened, with retiring Governor Ruffin Pleasant, still in office for one week, closing May 17; and Governor elect John M. Parker not yet inaugurated. Governor Pleasant, devoted the last weeks of his term of office to the organization of the anti-suffrage-state-referendum fight, joining, for the first time in suffrage history, groups of suffrage workers who were opposed to the federal government, with groups of anti-suffragists, led by professional anti-suffrage organizers.

The state suffrage referendum fight became, under the patronage of the Governor, an attack on suffrage. The first meeting of the Pleasant forces convened in the Governor's mansion.

But there was confusion worse confounded: Not only did a sprinkling of the old suffrage leaders open anti-ratification headquarters, much bedecked with American flags in company with the antis; but a powerful state boss reversed his position as an anti-suffragist and took a forthright position as a champion of ratification even in advance of that of the incoming Governor, for years regarded as one of the "progressives" of the country, running mate with Theodore Roosevelt in the 1912 presidential election when federal suffrage was a plank in the national platform. Progressive Parker still refuses to commit himself again on suffrage beyond declaring he is for "any kind of suffrage" and throwing the responsibility of federal ratification back on the legislature.

It was this complex situation that Louisiana women faced, when they began to poll the new legislature and organize the women power of the Louisiana parishes behind the demand for ratification. All suffrage organizations, including the Louisiana Branch of the National Woman's Party, formed a single ratification committee, with Mrs. L. W. Holmes as chairman, and the following members: Mrs. M. L. Bankston, Mrs. Eleanor Graham, Mrs. Devereaux, Mrs. Wilkinson, Mrs. Rosella Bayhi.

In this group were friends of all political groups, who proceeded to bury their differences and concentrate on the complex contest in hand. Women realized at the outset that in the intricate political game they were engaging in they needed expert advice. Marshall Ballard, managing editor of the New Orleans Item, became at the start one of the outstanding champions of the ratification campaign of Louisiana. Mr. Ballard and his paper had for twenty years been a bitter foe of the so-called City machine of New Orleans which had controlled the state. It was this organ which is credited with having "crippled" the machine and brought about

Members of the Woman's Party and influential men of the state who are working for suffrage in Louisiana. (Left to right)—Representative S. O. Shattuck in charge of the suffrage resolution in the Lower House of the Legislature, Mrs. Alice Cosu, Mrs. Rosella Bayhi, Mr. Marshall Ballard, editor of the "New Orleans Item;" Mrs. C. A. Wiessner, Miss Grace Johnson, Mrs. Williamson and Senator N. C. Williamson, in charge of the amendment in the state senate.

From the New Orleans *Item.*

the election of John M. Parker. The *Item* proceeded to make a suffrage ratification campaign in Louisiana such as no other state had staged. With a state-wide circulation, columns of editorials and news space were given over to the ratification campaign.

Mayor Martin Behrman checkmated his old newspaper adversary early in the contest, just preceding the convening of the regular session, by declaring that, with the federal suffrage amendment all but ratified, he believed in immediate ratification by the State of Louisiana. The fighting newspaper and the City boss thus became allies for the first time.

The Louisiana session therefore opened with suffragists practically united for the amendment; with an anti-ratification governor going out; with a non-committal governor coming in; with a powerful machine leader converted at the eleventh hour and with an able newspaper campaign for ratification assured. Mr. Ballard was able to secure the support of his local rival in the newspaper field. The machine newspaper, amazed at the reversal of the Mayor, took a middle ground.

All of these factors have reduced the Louisiana battle for ratification not so much to a campaign by women for suffrage as an acute political contest between two hostile factions, the Behrman organization and Parker group, battling for political supremacy. John M. Parker, one time progressive, now a "regular democrat," possibly afraid to antagonize conservative support, still maintains silence on suffrage ratification.

On the other hand the City Machine, so called, of New Orleans, which once controlled in the Senate and in the house, has been urged repeatedly by Mayor Martin Behrman to come to the rescue of the federal amendment, in spite of the fact that the Mayor has for weeks been confined to his bed in his Biloxi, Miss., summer home recovering from a second serious attack of influenza. The fact is that the Mayor of New Orleans, coming out for the ratification of suffrage, accepting the inevitable, with a long political look ahead to the women voters of the fall elections, in no way minimizes the service he is doing to the suffrage ratification contest in Louisiana. If the mayor follows up his admonitions by sufficient action to secure their votes for ratification from the so-called City regulars it will probably mean the victory of suffrage in Louisiana. Mayor Behrman is probably wise in his judgment that in future contests in the state and in the city women are likely to remember that it was a far-seeing machine that aided them.

A Louisiana summer is a hectic atmosphere in which to stage a political contest that is anything but cool. Tropical and lovely New Orleans with its cool brilliant nights and hot weather gaieties offers a sharp contrast to the tiny heated little capital city of Baton Rouge, out of the range of stray breezes, over crowded, inundated with women and legislators who occupy every available hotel, boarding place and home in the town. In spite of the heat, however, the lobby on the legislature, which had been prosecuted in the home parishes of the legislators, by women for five weeks before the legislature convened, was vigorous and effective.

I'M IN FAVOR OF REPEALING THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, AND STARTING THINGS OVER AGAIN
T. H. McGIEHAN
OF NEW ORLEANS

From the New Orleans *Item.*
An indication of the state of mind of the Louisiana legislature.

Two dozen women wearing the suffrage colors took up the work the first day, May 10, from a general suffrage headquarters located directly across the street from the capitol. On the opposite side of the same street, bedecked in multitudes of American flags as if crying aloud of one hundred per cent Americanism, the antis and "state-righters" advertised the "anti-ratification" headquarters, from which occasional ladies in white wearing knots of forget-me-nots, the suggestive "anti" flower of Louisiana, and pink bonnets, sally forth to beard the legislator and assure him that "woman's place is in the home."

The National Woman's Party sent to Louisiana two organizers to assist the local branch of which Mrs. E. G. Graham is chairman; Mrs. Anne Calvert Neeley of Vicksburg, Miss., and myself. We have been in close consultation with the state suffrage leaders and assisted in completing a poll of the legislature begun through the Legislative Department of the National Woman's Party and are interviewing daily the members of the legislature and influential men in the state.

Members of the party who have assisted in the lobbying are Miss Grace Johnson, one of the Louisiana women who took part in the last White House demonstration. Mrs. Alice Cosu, another picket lobbyist of New Orleans. Other Woman's Party lobbyists included Mrs. Eleanor Graham, Mrs. M. L. Bankston, Mrs. Rosella S. Bayhi and Mrs. A. C. Meissner.

The ratification resolution was introduced first in the House of the General Assembly by Representative S. O. Shattuck, one of the veterans of the House, a tried tactician, who will have charge of the bill. The ratification resolution goes to the federal relations committee, which has just been named and is composed of a majority in favor of federal suffrage. Representative W. Scott Wilkinson of Shreveport is chairman. The resolu-

tion in the Senate went to Senator W. C. Williamson. The referendum resolution was introduced in both houses simultaneously with the suffrage resolution.

Resolutions and telegrams have been received from organizations and individuals in all parts of the country. Among them was the following one from President Wilson to Governor Parker.

> "May I not very respectfully urge your favorable interest and influence in the matter of the suffrage amendment? It seems to me of the deepest national significance and importance."

Governor Parker at once replied to President Wilson:

> "Thanks for your courteous telegram. Have just been inaugurated Governor of Louisiana. Find General Assembly greatly differs on question of suffrage. Large number opposed to any form. Some advocate state measure, others federal amendment. All being Democrats, any dictation on my part would be unwise and I regret my inability to comply with your request, believing action of my people should be paramount to any personal views."

Homer Cummings sent this emphatic message:

> "I received your wire urging me to make a statement for general use relative to the attitude of the national organization of our party on the subject of suffrage amendment which is now pending in Louisiana and certain other states. I hesitate very much to make such a statement, as I desire to avoid any appearance of suggesting to our good friends in Louisiana what course should be pursued in a matter arising in their own state.
>
> "However, the matter manifestly has national significance and arises to national proportions.
>
> "I can only say that if our good friends in Louisiana see fit to ratify the suffrage amendment the tidings would be received with great gratification by the National Democracy of our party, and would constitute a service to the National Democracy which would place it under lasting obligations to the Democrats of Louisiana. I can scarcely conceive of anything which would produce, nationally speaking, a happier result or create greater satisfaction within the party in this matter."

William J. Bryan, in urging speedy approval of the amendment, stated:

> "Louisiana can do much at this time to aid the cause of Democracy in the northern states."

Mrs. George Bass, Democratic national committeewoman, came personally to Louisiana to work on behalf of the amendment.

In the meantime the poll in the House registers close to a majority if the regulars of Mayor Behrman's machine support ratification in line with the Mayor's declaration. The situation in the Senate is practically the same.

Two opposing resolutions have been introduced on May 11th. Senator J. O. Stewart introduced in the Senate and Representative L. L. Upton introduced in the Lower House a resolution amending the state constitution by striking out the word "male" from the section, stating the qualification of voters and thereby conferring rights of suffrage on women as well as men.

Two resolutions also introduced by Senator Stewart calling for the rejection of the Federal amendment and is modeled on the Maryland rejection resolution.

It provides separately that Louisiana will declare it is opposed to the Federal Suffrage amendment. The anti-ratificationists had planned to force a vote on one or all of these measures, but that plan has been abandoned.

Senator Williamson refused to withdraw his motion referring the ratification resolution to the committee and demanded that it be permitted to take the routine course. This means additional time to secure the necessary votes.

Senator Williamson holds that the Stewart resolution to reject the federal amendment is out of order and can be tabled, since it seeks to do in a negative way what his resolution declares for in a positive way and is therefore conflicting action.

A majority of both house and senate, not a majority of those present, is necessary to ratify the amendment. The referendum of suffrage to the people, on the other hand, requires a two-thirds majority, or 79 votes in the House and 28 in the Senate. The group working for a state referendum are today (May 15) admitting that they cannot muster this number of votes.

Ratification leaders believe they have strength enough to side-track both these methods of preventing a hearing on ratification, and that their strength will steadily increase.

Vivian Pierce,
National Organizer.

Mrs. Anne Calvert Neely, national organizer of the Woman's Party, studying the poll of the Louisiana legislature with Representative S. O. Shattuck (left) and Senator N. C. Williamson

Mrs. W. T. Brown, West Virginia Chairman.

Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe, Kansas Chairman.

Miss Sue White, Tennessee Chairman.

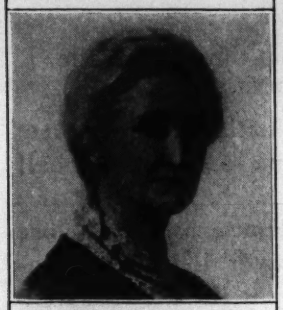
Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd, Illinois Chairman.

Miss Helen Hunt, Florida Chairman.

Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe, Texas legislative Chairman.

Mrs. Anne Calvert ley, Mississippi C man.

OFFICERS OF THE



Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler, Colorado Chairman.

Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn, Connecticut Chairman.

Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, New Jersey Chairman.

Alice Paul, Chairm
Photo by Derwen

(Above)—Mrs. William Kent, California, Chairman of the Headquarters Maintenance Committee; Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, New York, Member of National Executive Committee. (Center)—Miss Doris Stevens, New York, Member of National Executive Committee; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Pennsylvania, Chairman of Ratification Committee; Miss Elizabeth Kalb, Texas, Literature Secretary. (Below)—Miss Lucy Burns, New York, Member of National Executive Committee; Mrs. Nina Allender, Washington, D. C., Art Editor of the Suffragist.

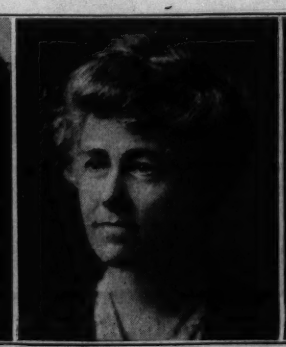
Mrs. A. R. Fellows, South Dakota Chairman.

Mrs. Frank Putnam, Wisconsin Chairman.

Mrs Clara C. Leavens, Missouri Chairman.

Miss Mary Ingham, Pennsylvania Chairman.

Mrs. E. G. Graham, Louisiana Chairman.



Mrs. W. E. Hardy, Nebraska Chairman.

ne Calvert Nee-ississippi Chair-

Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Maryland Chairman.

Mrs. Agnes Morey, Massachusetts Chairman.

Mrs. Robert Treat Whitehouse, Maine Chairman.

Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, North Carolina Chairman.

Mrs. Valentine Winters, Ohio Chairman.

Mrs. John Winters Brannan, New York Chairman.

WOMAN'S PARTY

aul, Chairman.
by Derwent

Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Delaware Chairman.

Mrs. A. R. Colvin, Minnesota Chairman.

Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith, Virginia Chairman.

(Above)—Mrs. John Rogers, New York, Chairman of the Advisory Council; Miss Maud Younger, California, Legislative Chairman. (Center)—Miss Mabel Vernon, Delaware, Organization Chairman; Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, Washington, D. C., Political Chairman; Mrs. Gilson Gardner, Washington, D. C., Member of National Executive Committee. (Below)—Mrs. Richard Wainwright, Washington, D. C., Member of National Executive Committee; Miss Anita Pollitzer, South Carolina, Legislative Secretary.

dy,

Mrs. Nellie A. Hayward, Arizona Chairman.

Mrs. W. J. Hawkins, Oregon Chairman.

Miss Ida F. Hasley, Oklahoma Chairman.

Mrs. Nelson Whittemore, Michigan Chairman.

Mrs. Arthur A. Kellam, New Mexico Chairman.

Mrs. Genevieve Allen, California Chairman.

As to North Carolina

AN ANALYSIS of the ratification situation in North Carolina bears upon its face reasonable hope for success in that state. The Legislature is expected to meet about the 15th of July in special session. At the regular session in 1919 a law was passed providing for a revaluation of land for the purpose of taxation. The revaluation books are expected to be closed about the 10th of July, and the Legislature will be called immediately to fix the tax rates. It is to this special session that Governor Bickett has said that he would submit the ratification of the suffrage amendment.

Both Parties Pledged

There are in the North Carolina Legislature 170 members, 37 of whom are Republicans and 133 Democrats. This membership is divided between the two houses as follows: In the Senate 50 members, of whom 40 are Democrats and 10 Republicans; in the House 120 members, of whom 93 are Democrats and 27 are Republicans. There are 100 counties in the state, and besides those now controlled by the Republicans, there are, it appears, about forty in which the Democratic majority is only about 200 voters. The state is large in area, extending from the ocean to the mountains in the western end. The Democrats control the eastern and central part, the chief strength of the Republicans being in the west. In the state Democratic Convention, which adopted a ratification plank at its meeting in Raleigh on April 8, the delegates from the central and western parts of the state voted for the suffrage plank almost solidly. The chief opposition came from the eastern delegates, but as the eastern part of the state is very strongly wedded to the party tie, the appeal of Democratic leaders and the action of the state Democratic Convention, will undoubtedly have great influence. Both of the parties stand pledged to ratification by their state conventions.

What the Poll Shows

The National Woman's Party has been working on a poll of the Legislature and has 18 definite pledges from Senators and 38 definite pledges from Representatives. Eight more are needed in the Senate and 23 more in the House.

Of the Senate members, 20 men have not responded at all, and seven have sent in noncommittal replies to our inquiry.

Of the 20 who did not respond, 12 are not opposed to the principle of suffrage, as they recorded their votes in favor of a municipal suffrage bill which was before the Legislature in March, 1919.

Six of the seven Senators who are counted as noncommittal voted for the municipal suffrage bill in 1919. One of them says: "While as yet my views have not changed, I cannot sign a pledge as to how I will vote on any question." Another says: "I have given my views on several previous occasions. I am in favor of placing women on equal terms and conditions with men in all matters, including payment of poll tax. I will not pledge myself now as to special session." The one noncommittal Republican Senator says: "I respectfully decline to commit myself on any question this far in advance."

Another element may be considered in analyzing the situation in the House, as we have the record of the vote of the county delegations in the state Democratic Convention when the ratification plank was adopted. Forty-five members of the House have not responded to our inquiry. Of this number 25 voted against the municipal bill, 17 for it, and three not at all. Two of the 25 saw a solid vote for ratification by their county delegation at the state convention; two more saw a vote of seventeen to three; two saw a tie vote; and eight saw their county delegations giving a varying number of votes to the suffrage plank.

Fifteen members of the House are counted as noncommittal, only four of whom voted for the municipal suffrage bill in 1919, ten against it, and one did not vote on that occasion. One of the four who voted for the municipal bill says: "I voted for woman suffrage then and don't know anything just now that will change my views, but I am not going to pledge my vote until the question comes up in the special session that convenes in July." Another says: "I am inclined to favor ratifying the amendment"; and another, "Am inclined to favor woman suffrage as a matter of principle, but am not yet prepared to commit myself as to how I shall vote on the question of ratification."

Affect of Senator Simmons' Appeal

The remaining eleven noncommittal representatives may be more or less influenced by the appeal that has been made by Senator Simmons on the ground of party expediency, and the effect of that appeal in North Carolina. One of these men who says he is not in position just at this time to take a positive stand comes from a county which gave 17 votes for and none against the ratification plank when it was adopted by the Democratic State Convention. Another member who returned our inquiry without answer and without a word of comment of any kind has evidently heard that his county delegation gave 22 votes for and none against the ratification plank. Another "undecided one" saw his county delegation go eighteen to two in favor of suffrage, in the state convention. Three favorable statements are counted in this group of eleven noncommittal Representatives. They say: "I rather think I will vote in favor of ratifying the amendment, but reserve the right to change"; "If I can see my way clear to do so, I will vote in favor of it"; and "I think I will vote in favor of ratifying the amendment."

The Outlook

As long as a majority of the Legislature is not pledged to ratification, it can not be claimed as a certainty that North Carolina will ratify. This analysis is based upon signed statements received at headquarters and upon the recorded vote on the municipal suffrage bill, and the vote of county delegations at the Democratic State Convention. Taken in connection with the action of both parties' conventions, the support of Governor Bickett, Senator Simmons, and a majority of the Congressional delegation, the situation carries hopeful outlook for success.

Women Have Little Share in Choice Of Presidential Candidates

WOMEN will have little share in the choice of Presidential candidates and practically no official part in the national conventions of either the Republican or Democratic party, because of continued delay in the ratification of the federal suffrage amendment.

Women are not equally represented in party management. They have had comparatively little share in selecting delegates to the national conventions. They have been excluded from a majority of the Presidential preference primaries and they will attend the national conventions as delegates in insignificant numbers.

25 Out of 984

Of the 984 delegates to the Republican National Convention in Chicago on June 8, only twenty-five will be women. Of the 1,092 delegates to the Democratic convention in San Francisco on June 28, only sixty-nine will be women.*

The 17,000,000 women eligible to vote for the next President, whether or not the federal suffrage amendment is ratified, are thus accorded only a 2 per cent representation in the choice of the Republican nominee and only a 6 per cent representation in the choice of the Democratic candidate, although they represent approximately 35 per cent of the total number of men and women eligible to vote for President next November.

Women are more largely represented in the list of alternates to the conventions, 133 being accredited alternates to the Republican convention and 130 to the Democratic convention.

Women Did Not Choose Delegates

Women played a comparatively minor part in the selection of delegates to the two conventions, according to facts secured from the secretaries of state and Republican and Democratic state chairmen in the various states.

Delegates to the national convention are selected in sixteen states by primaries, in thirty states by state conventions, in Illinois by primary and convention, in Alabama by a Democratic primary and a Republican convention. Of the sixteen primaries, women have taken or will take no part in nine. They were admitted to full participation in only seven: California, Montana, Nebraska, New York, Oregon, South Dakota, and Texas. They were or will be excluded in Florida, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Wisconsin. They took no part in the Democratic primary in Alabama and voted but were not counted in the primary for district delegates in Illinois.

* These figures were secured from Republican and Democratic woman's committees and are complete, except for Vermont and West Virginia on the Republican side, and Louisiana and Florida on the Democratic side. Contested elections in both parties may make a difference in the totals, but it will be slight.

Of the thirty-one states in which delegates are selected by convention, women have taken or will take no part in the conventions of either party in ten states, Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Indiana, Louisiana, South Carolina, Maryland, Mississippi and Vermont.

In other states, such as Rhode Island, Virginia and Wyoming, women took part in one, but not both party conventions. No women attended the Democratic convention in Virginia and only one woman attended the Republican convention. Twenty women attended the Republican convention in Wyoming, but none attended the Democratic convention of that state. In Rhode Island women were present at the Democratic convention, but not at the Republican. No women attended the Republican convention in Alabama.

Present, But Not Voting

In a number of states, such as Maine, women were allowed to attend, but not to vote.

In many, probably most, states where women were present at conventions, they were present in small numbers, exerting little influence on the decisions of the convention.

In the expression of popular preference for Presidential candidates women have also been allowed comparatively little share. In twenty-one states Presidential preference primaries held. Women have been admitted on equal terms with men in only seven, California, Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, Oregon, South Dakota and Texas. They have been excluded from fourteen, five of these being states where women have won the right to vote for President, but have not been allowed a voice in choosing their party's candidate.

Women and the Republican Convention

No woman are members of the Republican National Committee. No women are members of the Republican National Executive Committee. No women are on the sub-committees appointed last December to manage the pre-convention activities of the party; committees on organization, publicity, finance and convention. On the policies and platform committee of 171 members, only nineteen members are women.

There is a Republican National Council composed of twenty-four members, four of whom are women. There is also a woman's division of the Republican National Committee headed by Mrs. John G. South, chairman, which works through or with a Republican Women's Executive Committee, headed by Miss Mary Garrett Hay. These groups of women have no vote on the Republican National Committee, except as proxies for men.

Officials so far selected for the Chicago convention by the national committee are men, with the exception of three women assistant secretaries. Senator Lodge, confirmed anti-suffragist, is temporary chairman of the convention.

The Democratic Convention

In the Democratic party women have been placed on the national executive committee with a status equal to that of the men members. Fourteen women are now members of this committee and three more have been asked to join, it is stated, with the intention of bringing the total number of women up to seventeen, the number of men on the committee. On the Democratic national committee women are as yet only associates, having no direct vote except as proxies for men. There are presumably forty-eight women members of this associate national committee, but as a matter of fact there are only forty-two at the present time. Under the national committee there is a woman's bureau corresponding to the Republican women's division.

Officials so far appointed for the Democratic convention consist entirely of men, with the exception of two women on the committee on arrangements in charge of pre-convention activities. There are twenty-eight men on this committee. The temporary chairman of the convention is Homer Cummings and the temporary vice-chairman is J. Bruce Kremer.

Delayed ratification has also resulted in excluding women from registration for the elections in Georgia. Further delay will exclude them from registration in other states, and will complicate their qualification as voters even though the amendment is ratified before the elections.

Women's Part in National Primaries

*(Ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment will admit women to all future primaries. Until ratification is completed, the following facts hold:)**

State	Suffrage Status	Primaries, Presidential and Congressional	Date	Women's Part	Women of Voting age in State
Alabama	Non-suffrage	Congressional	May 11	Excluded	552,154
Arizona	Full Suffrage	Congressional	September	Admitted	48,280
Arkansas	Primary	Congressional	August 10	Admitted	387,193
California	Full Suffrage	Presidential	May 4	Admitted	
		Congressional	August 31	Admitted	738,524
Colorado	Full Suffrage	Congressional	September	Admitted	234,767
Connecticut	Non-suffrage				368,644
Delaware	Non-suffrage	Congressional	August	Excluded	64,266
Florida	Non-suffrage	Presidential	June 8	Excluded	
		Congressional	June 8	Excluded	196,553
Georgia	Non-suffrage	Presidential	April 20	Excluded	
		Congressional	September	Excluded	674,463
Idaho	Full suffrage				76,790
Illinois	Presidential	Presidential	April 13	Voted but not counted	1,724,240
		Congressional	September	Excluded	
Indiana	Presidential	Presidential	May 4	Excluded	847,723
		Congressional	May 4	Excluded	
Iowa	Presidential	Congressional	June 7	Excluded	664,008
Kansas	Full Suffrage	Congressional	August 3	Admitted	482,827
Kentucky	Presidential	Congressional	August	Excluded	637,731
Louisiana	Non-Suffrage	Congressional	September	Excluded	434,889
Maine	Presidential	Congressional	June 21	Excluded	248,309
Maryland	Non-Suffrage	Presidential	May 3	Excluded	405,200
		Congressional	May 3	Excluded	
Massachusetts	Non-Suffrage	Presidential	April 27	Excluded	1,181,933
		Congressional	April 27	Excluded	
Michigan	Full Suffrage	Presidential	April 5	Admitted	864,636
		Congressional	August 31	Admitted	

State	Suffrage Status	Primaries, Presidential and Congressional	Date	Women's Part	Women of Voting age in State
Minnesota	Presidential	Congressional	June 21	Excluded	563,652
Mississippi	Non-Suffrage	Congressional	August 17	Excluded	454,235
Missouri	Presidential	Congressional	August 3	Excluded	985,167
Montana	Full Suffrage	Presidential	April 23	Admitted	89,915
		Congressional	August 24	Admitted	
Nebraska	Presidential	Presidential	April 20	Admitted	327,844
		Congressional	April 20	Excluded	
Nevada	Full Suffrage	Congressional	September 21	Admitted	19,954
New Hampshire	Non-Suffrage	Presidential	March 9	Excluded	148,909
		Congressional	September 14	Excluded	
New Jersey	Non-Suffrage	Presidential	April 27	Excluded	810,324
		Congressional	September 14	Excluded	
New Mexico	Non-Suffrage	Congressional	July	Excluded	80,467
New York	Full Suffrage	Presidential	April 6	Admitted	3,033,273
		Congressional	September	Admitted	
North Carolina	Non-Suffrage	Presidential	June 5	Excluded	571,422
		Congressional	June 5	Excluded	
North Dakota	Presidential	Presidential	March 16	Excluded	134,646
		Congressional	June 30	Excluded	
Ohio	Presidential (In abeyance pending ref.)	Presidential	April 27	Excluded	1,538,175
		Congressional	August 10	Excluded	
Oklahoma	Full Suffrage	Congressional	August 3	Admitted	391,813
Oregon	Full Suffrage	Presidential	May 21	Admitted	185,155
		Congressional	May 21	Admitted	
Pennsylvania	Non-Suffrage	Presidential	May 18	Excluded	2,325,408
		Congressional	May 18	Excluded	
Rhode Island	Presidential				183,030
South Carolina	Non-Suffrage	Congressional	August 31	Excluded	378,353
South Dakota	Full Suffrage	Presidential	April 6	Admitted	147,605
		Congressional	March 23	Admitted	
Tennessee	Presidential	Congressional	August 5	Excluded	596,648
Texas	Primary	Presidential	May 25	Admitted	978,639
		Congressional	July 24	Admitted	
Utah	Full Suffrage				94,301
Vermont	Non-Suffrage	Presidential	May 18	Excluded	117,571
		Congressional	September	Excluded	
Virginia	Non-Suffrage	Congressional	August 3	Excluded	570,320
Washington	Full Suffrage	Congressional	September 7	Admitted	305,449
West Virginia	Non-Suffrage	Presidential	May 25	Excluded	313,465
		Congressional	May 25	Excluded	
Wisconsin	Presidential	Presidential	April 6	Excluded	672,272
		Congressional	September 7	Excluded	
Wyoming	Full Suffrage				31,724

*This table refers to national primaries only. Where no primaries are listed no national primaries are held. Presidential primaries include both presidential preference and primaries for the choice of delegates to the national conventions.

Dates of Registration for National Elections and Poll-Tax Payments When Required for Voting

STATES	REGISTRATION CLOSES	*POLL-TAX
Alabama	Jan. 5—Special Registration may be authorized up to 60 days before election. (Sept. 3rd).	$1.50 Feb. 1
Arizona	October 15	
Arkansas	No registration	$1.00 April 10
California	30 days before (October 2nd)	
Colorado	Begins Tuesday, 3 weeks before, lasts 3-5 days (October 12th)	
Connecticut	5th Monday before (October 4th)	
Delaware	3rd Saturday before (October 16th)	
Florida	2nd Saturday of Oct. (October 9th)	Receipt for 2 previous years required to be shown at registration.
Georgia	6 months before before. (May 2nd)	$1.00 ten days before (Oct. 23.)
Idaho	30 days before (October 2nd)	
Illinois	Tuesday before (Oct. 26.) In counties of 3rd class Tuesday, 3 weeks before (Oct. 12).	
Indiana	Monday, 29th day before. (October 4th)	
Iowa	Saturday, 2nd week before, in towns of 6,000 and more. (October 23rd) Elsewhere none.	
Kansas	10 days before in cities 1st and 2nd class only. (October 23rd). Elsewhere none.	
Kentucky	Third Tuesday (October 26th)	$1.50 3rd Tuesday, Oct. 26).
Louisiana	30 days before (October 2nd)	$1.00 and receipt for 2 previous years required before election.
Maine	Varies according to population, but within 30 days before. (Oct. 2nd)	
Maryland	Tuesday and Wednesday, 4 weeks before, (October 5 and 6) Baltimore, Saturday following this. (Oct. 9.)	
Massachusetts	20 days before. (October 13th)	
Michigan	Saturday before (Oct. 30th)	
Minnesota	1st class, 2nd Saturday before. (October 23rd) 2nd class, Tuesday before. (October 26th) 3rd class, Tuesday before. (October 26th)	
Mississippi	4 months before (July 2nd)	$2.00 Feb. 1
Missouri	Cities 25,000-100,000, between 50th and 40th day preceding election. (September 10-20th)	
Missouri (Cont.)	Cities over 100,000 Tuesday, 3 weeks before. (October 12th) Cities over 300,000 Thursday, 7th week before. (September 16th)	
Montana	45 days before (September 15th)	$2.00. Receipt for last poll tax on demand only.
Nebraska	2nd Saturday before. October 23rd.	
Nevada	20 days before. (October 13th)	
New Hampshire	12 A. M., Night before.	
New Jersey	Tuesday 2 weeks before (October 19th)	
New Mexico	10 days before (October 23rd)	$1.00 Aug. 31.
New York	3rd Saturday before. (October 16th)	
North Carolina	10 days before. (October 23rd)	$2.00 May 1.
North Dakota	Tuesday before. (October 26th)	
Ohio	3rd Saturday before. (October 16th)	
Oklahoma	10 days before. (October 23rd)	
Oregon	30 days before. (October 2nd)	
Pennsylvania	Saturday (October 2nd)	Average, 50c.
Rhode Island	Day of Registration, June 30th.	
South Carolina	30 days before. (October 2nd)	$2.00, 6 months before election (May 2).
South Dakota	Tuesday before. (October 26th)	
Tennessee	20 days before (October 13th)	$2.00 before casting vote.
Texas	None required.	$1.75, Jan. 31.
Utah	1st Wednesday before. (October 27th)	
Vermont	None required. Record of Freeman's oath required.	
Virginia	30 days before (October 2nd)	50c. 6 months before election, (May 2). and tax receipts for 3 years.
Washington	20 days before. (October 13th)	
West Virginia	Tuesday and Wednesday before. (October 26 and 27)	
Wisconsin	Tuesday before. (Oct. 26th). Not required in towns less than 5,000.	
Wyoming	12 and 11 days before. (October 22 and 23)	

**If no poll tax is listed none is required in that state.*

Woman Suffrage Throughout the World

THE United States is already far behind other nations in enfranchising women. Twenty-six countries have granted suffrage to women, though four of these still impose some limitation. In England only women over thirty are permitted to vote, Belgium has enfranchised the widows, who have not remarried, and the mothers, of soldiers killed in battle or of civilians killed by Germans. The Swedish suffrage measure is not technically complete, but has still to be confirmed by the 1920 Parliament. While the constitution of Mexico does not prevent women from voting, no women in Mexico have taken advantage of their right, and educational campaigns must still be conducted.

In many countries where they are not enfranchised, women are working effectively for suffrage and with good hope of success soon. A brief account of this work in some of the larger countries follows:

Argentina

The women of Argentina have organized the Union Feminista Nacional, of which Dr. Alicia Moreau is President. A woman's rights magazine, *Nuestra Causa,* edited by Dr. Petrona Eyle and Adela Garcia Salaberry, is published at Buenos Aires. The women are working to secure not only suffrage but property rights. Dr. Moreau represented Argentina at the Pan-American Congress of women doctors in New York, and expressed her intention of studying in detail the feminist movement in North America.

China

The constitution of China does not prohibit the provinces from giving women the right to vote, and by act of the provincial assembly of Canton they can now vote on the same terms as men. There are suffrage organizations in Shanghai and Pekin and other cities.

Egypt

There is an organization of women called Femmes Nouvelles which is interested in woman suffrage. A woman's committee has been formed to work for the independence of Egypt and the emancipation of Egyptian women.

France

On May 20, 1919, a bill passed the Chamber of Deputies by a large majority, according full suffrage rights to French women. In September the vote of the Deputies was renewed with a majority of 325 to 88. The Senate has never taken a vote, as the Senate Suffrage Commission has obstructed the measure in such a way as to avoid a public discussion of the bill by the Senate. Senator Louis Martin at a conference with the French Union for woman suffrage, of which Madame De Witt Schlumberger is president, on May 22 told the women that he would bring up a motion before the Senate to give women the vote. He declared that the women of France would enjoy the privilege of suffrage within a year.

Countries in Which Women Vote

Azerbaijain (Moslem) Republic	1919
Australia	1902
Austria	1918
[1] Belgium	1919
British East Africa	1919
Canada	1918
Czecho Slovakia	1918
Denmark	1915
[2] England	1918
Finland	1906
Germany	1918
Holland	1919
Hungary	1918
Iceland	1919
Ireland	1918
Isle of Man	1881
Luxembourg	1919
[3] Mexico	1917
New Zealand	1893
Norway	1907
Poland	1918
Rhodesia	1919
Russia	1917
Scotland	1918
[4] Sweden	1919
Wales	1918

[1] *Electorial Reform Bill as passed granted suffrage to widows who have not remarried and mothers of soldiers killed in battle or civilians shot by Germans.*

[2] *Women over age of 30—Bill to reduce age to 21 has passed its second reading.*

[3] *No sex qualification for voting in constitution. Women have so far not availed themselves of their right to vote, but are expected to do so in the coming elections.*

[4] *To be confirmed in 1920.*

Greece

A League of Women's Rights has been formed in Greece which includes in its program equal guardianship rights for mothers; an equal position for women in the family; equal divorce laws; equal rights of inheritance for women; and a reform in the law which will enforce the obligations of fathers and the rights of mothers in the case of illegitimate children; protective labor legislation for women; enforcement of the laws against white-slave traffic; the admission of women to the magistracy and to juries; woman suffrage and the admission of women to all positions in the state.

To a suffrage petition presented in the Greek Parliament, M. Venizelos replied with the demand that the majority of Greek women ask for their rights and prove that they want them, and stated that when the time was ripe the government would then yield. On December 21, 1919, a bill was introduced providing full, equal, civil and political rights to women, and was referred to a special commission for consideration. Premier Venizelos' latest statement, made on May 24, was, according to a dispatch to the *London Times,* that the women in Greece would be given the vote after the next municipal election.

India

There is much agitation for woman suffrage in India. This agitation is carried on throughout the British Dominions. Madame Sarojini Maida has been in England for some months sponsoring a resolution urging the granting of the franchise to women at the same time it is given to men. Other Indian women are agitating the question in New Zealand and Australia. A large meet-

ing in Wellington in February carried a resolution to the effect that if India is to be acknowledged as an equal by all the other parts of the Empire, women must occupy the same position and have the same status as in Great Britain and the Dominions, and that the Indian Legislative Council should pass a measure of woman suffrage at the first opportunity. The British Dominions Women Citizens' Union has written to the President and members of the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi; also the Legislative Council at Bombay, and to members of the Government's Executive Council at Bombay, in an effort to bring the pressure of public opinion to bear upon the legislative councils to which the decision of the matter has been left.

Italy

A woman suffrage bill was passed by the Chamber of Deputies, September, 1919, but has not yet been placed before the Senate. Three new bills are being brought forward by various deputies similar to the one passed in September, giving political equality to men and women of 21 years of age. It was expected that women would have the right to vote in May, 1920.

Japan

The Electoral Reform bill which would have granted the vote to Japanese women was not passed before the Diet was dissolved. The President, Viscount Kato, is reported to have said that if a majority of the Diet wished to present such a bill the Government would not oppose it. At the general elections held on May 10, the question of universal suffrage was overwhelmingly defeated.

Women suffragists are working in an organization called the "New Woman Society." The intellectual women of this association are working to bring about woman suffrage, independent of universal suffrage. They are seeking their object, not aggressively, but openly and with effectiveness. Already there is a bill before the House of Representatives to give the vote to mothers.

The rice riots of August, 1918, greatly strengthened the woman suffrage movement. When the women could not longer stand the "high cost of rice" they took matters into their own hands and secured relief from the Government.

Philippine Islands

The House recently defeated a woman suffrage bill which had passed the Senate in December, 1919. The bill has the support of the President of the Senate, Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, and the Governor-General, Francis Harrison.

Roumania

All the political parties have put woman suffrage in their programs, and the national Democratic Party has included in its program the full equality of women.

Serbia

The war threw the women of Serbia into positions outside their former routine. The departure of men for the war forced the women to go into trades, industry, and municipal management. They are beginning to protest against the discriminations of the law and demand redess. Some of these unjust provisions are:

(a) Women are not legal guardians of their children, who, in the event of their father's death, are under control of his nearest male relatives, and, failing these, his friends or associates.

(b) All the property of a woman who marries virtually becomes that of her husband, for she cannot use it without his consent nor dispose of it without his written permission. She has, legally, no claim on his purse beyond the necessities of food and lodging.

(c) In case of divorce, even if she is altogether blameless, and her partner notoriously in the wrong, she has custody of her children only as long as their tender age demands maternal care.

Serbia is now a part of the new state familiarly known as Yugoslavia, its official title being the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The Serbian, Croatian and Slovinian women have all formed suffrage societies, but the Serbian women have been the most active in pushing their claims.

South Africa

According to a despatch from Cape Town, the House of the Assembly passed, on May 4, a resolution favoring the extension of the parliamentary franchise to women.

Spain

There are a number of suffrage societies in Spain. The Liga Espanola and the Associacion Nacional, with various other societies, form the Consejo Supreme Feminista. The Liga Espanola is the oldest organization. A much younger, but growing organization, is the Union de las Mujeres.

The Associacion Nacional includes in its objects the eligibility of women for public offices and for juries, complete legal personality, equal moral laws, opportunities and pay.

Switzerland

There are twenty-two cantons in Switzerland, in several of which women have suffrage, but there is no federal suffrage. Suffragists were recently defeated in two cantonal referendums, in Bale and Zurich. The federal government in June, 1919, accepted two suffrage resolutions in order to "study" them, and on January 17, 1920, the President of the Republic received a deputation of suffragists and declared himself "convinced," but told the suffragists that it was through the cantons that they would gain their ends and that federal legislation would be guided by the results obtained in the cantons—a statement which has a familiar ring to the ears of American women.

Uruguay

In Uruguay women vote in municipal elections. National suffrage measures are before the legislature, but have not yet passed. Dr. Paulina Luisi is President of the Uruguayan Woman Suffrage Association. She is also editor of *Accion Femina*. A bill recently introduced in the legislature provides that a woman may be a member of cooperative societies without the permission of her husband, have control of her own property, witness documents and wills, that unmarried women, widows, aunts, or sisters of minor children may be their guardians, and that married women have the right to enter any lawful profession and administer and dispose of their own earnings.

The Country Demands Ratification

THIRTY-FIVE states with a population of 78,000,000 have ratified the suffrage amendment. These states represent three-fourths of the population of the country. All told throughout the country, in addition to the 29 unanimous ratifications by either lower or upper houses of state legislatures, 2,422 votes have been cast for ratification and 1,100 have been cast against it.

No state can now consider its vote for or against the amendment as a matter which concerns itself alone. It is not a question of whether Delaware, a state of 250,000 people, wants women to vote, but whether Delaware intends to frustrate the will of the vast majority of the people.

Whether Delaware realizes its responsibility to the rest of the country or not, the rest of the country realizes it.

In the course of a speaking tour through Illinois, Minnesota, Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, Wisconsin, South Dakota, Missouri and Oklahoma, Miss Mary Winsor of Haverford, Pa., member of the advisory council of the Woman's Party, has found the women of those states engaged in vigorous campaigns on behalf of the amendment, bringing every possible pressure upon the local political leaders and through them upon the national leaders. In the course of the last two months, over $2,000 has been given at small meetings to Miss Winsor to support the work of the Woman's Party in the states where ratification is still pending.

Telegrams, Letters, Resolutions

Through telegrams, resolutions and letters constant pressure is being brought from all parts of the country upon Mr. Will Hays, chairman of the National Republican Committee, and upon the leaders of the Democratic party to secure the last needed ratification. All candidates for office in the coming elections are being urged to do their utmost to enable women to vote in November. A constant stream of telegrams from western officials and western women has been pouring in upon the Delaware and Louisiana legislatures and upon the governors of Vermont and Connecticut.

Miss Winsor, who has been assisted everywhere on her trip by the state chairman and officers of the Woman's Party, is telling western voters of the bitterness of the opposition which the amendment is encountering in the last eastern states. To politicians she is everywhere explaining that ratification by 35 states amounts to exactly nothing at all if a 36th does not ratify.

Colorado Acts

In Colorado, where a splendid campaign is being conducted, and $5,000 has been pledged for ratification work, there is scarcely a meeting held without the passage of a resolution concerning the amendment. The Republican state convention which met on May 6th at Pueblo, Colo., passed the following resolution:

> "We urge upon the states which have not yet ratified the Nineteenth amendment to the Constitution that such action be promptly taken, to the end that right shall be speedily done towards the intelligent and patriotic women of the land, whose fitness for citizenship was demonstrated in so marked a manner during the recent war. It is a cause for congratulation that Republican states have thus far been practically unanimous in ratifying this amendment, while the states which have refused to ratify are those which have for generations been unceasingly Democratic."

The Denver Democratic Committee, the Jane Jefferson Club and the Denver Democratic Club had previously all taken action urging Delaware to ratify the suffrage amendment.

In Colorado Springs and Denver luncheons were arranged by Mrs. Bertha Fowler, state chairman; Dr. Caroline Spencer, secretary, and Dr. Margaret Long, Congressional District chairman, of the Colorado branch; sixty of the leading women of Denver were addressed by Miss Winsor, and in the evening a conference was held with the chief business women of the city.

In Wisconsin

In Wisconsin the executive boards of the state and Milwaukee branches conferred at a dinner given in the Public Library by Mrs. Wm. Polackek. Plans were made with Mrs. Frank Putman, the state chairman, for interviews with the Republican and Democratic state chairmen, the Secretary of the Republican Woman's Association Committee, and the associated chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, to secure messages and resolutions to the leaders in the Delaware and Louisiana legislatures.

From Oshkosh, Wis., resolutions were sent from a mass meeting of the people to the Louisiana legislature and to the national officers of the Republican party urging action in Delaware, Connecticut and Vermont. The Louisiana resolution reads:

> "Whereas, the women of America are impatiently waiting their opportunity to vote;
>
> "And whereas, the legislatures of thirty-five states have already ratified the Federal suffrage amendment,
>
> "And whereas, the Democratic party has in convention pledged itself in support of woman's suffrage,
>
> "Therefore be it resolved that we, citizens of Oshkosh, Wisconsin, call upon the legislature of Louisiana to ratify immediately the Federal suffrage amendment, thus giving political freedom to the women of our country."

The Republican resolution was as follows:

> "Whereas, responsibility for ratification of the Federal suffrage amendment rests largely with the Republican party, since that party controls the legislatures of Delaware, Vermont and Connecticut, and those statse also have Republican governors,
>
> "Be it resolved, that we urge the Republican party to secure immediate ratification of the Federal suffrage amendment so that justice may be done to the women of this country and that the Republican party be justified in its claim to 100 per cent. Americanism."

A memorial was also sent the Louisiana legislature by the Wisconsin branch of the Woman's Party which was read in that body on May 18th.

In South Dakota the state chairman, Mrs. A. R. Fellows and Miss Winsor, interviewed the National Republican Committeemen who agreed to exert their influence in behalf of ratification by the Delaware legislature.

From Texas and South Dakota

The women of Sioux Falls, S. D., adopted this resolution concerning the Republican party and sent copies to Will Hays and the governors of Delaware, Connecticut and Vermont:

> "Whereas, the three states, Delaware, Connecticut and Vermont, are all Republican states, and whereas, the Republican party is responsible for the delay in enfranchising women of South Dakota, we call upon the Republican party to insist upon the immediate ratification of the Federal suffrage amendment.
>
> "Resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent Will H. Hays and the governors of Delaware, Connecticut and Vermont."

From the Council of Mothers of Dallas, Texas, representing 10,000 mothers, the following message was read in the Louisiana legislature:

> "The eyes of 27,000,000 women of the United United States are fixed in the eagerness of hope and faith on the Louisiana legislature. The state occupies a strategic position and by ratification will confer upon Americans the greatest boon since July, 1776. We earnestly recommend such action."

Ohio Women Ask Questions

A deputation of Ohio women led by Mrs. James M. Rector of Columbus, member of the National Advisory Council of the Woman's Party, recently interviewed Senator Harding of Ohio when he was in his own state. The statement of the deputation to Senator Harding was as follows:

> "Senator Harding: This delegation, under the auspices of the National Woman's Party, comes to you, as Republican candidate for the nomination for President of the United States, to make inquiry of you concerning the record of your party on the ratification of the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution, and to ask you to urgently advise your party against further delay.
>
> "The Republican Party has welcomed women, and has asked them to join its ranks and to aid its candidates. Many have done so. We have walked into the wide open doors only to find that these were merely the outer doors, and that the inner doors were still tight shut against us. And there we have been ever since, trapped in the vestibule. Senator Harding, we ask you why is this so?
>
> "That some of the leaders of the party have put their whole souls into securing ratification and so an enduring laurel for the Republican party there can be no doubt.
>
> "Certainly the sincerity of the effort of our own Dr. Fess of Ohio for his party cannot be questioned.
>
> "All of the Republican Presidential candidates have publicly favored immediate ratification.
>
> "Senator Harding, by your own acknowledgement to us in February it was party mandate which secured to your party your previously unwilling vote for the amendment in the Senate.
>
> "Has the party grown weak since then that it fails to complete its task; that it allows some three or four still unwilling men to defeat its ends and cheat it of its reward?
>
> "We want to know, if it cannot do this thing, why can it not, and if it can, why does it not do so without further delay?"

Senator Harding replied that he believed there was hope for ratification by Delaware.

Candidates Interviewed

Deputations of women have waited upon Senator Hiram Johnson, Leonard Wood and Senator Poindexter and other Presidential candidates in many of the cities where they have spoken during the last months and urged them to bring every possible pressure upon their party for the enfranchisement of women in time for the coming election.

An enthusiastic resolution was adopted at the National Association of Medical Women held at the end of April in New Orleans endorsing the suffrage amendment and urging its ratification.

All these resolutions are indications of the interest of the country in the fate of the suffrage amendment and the pressure which is being directed on the men responsible for delay in its passage.

That this agitation is having its effect is indicated by the following messages from political leaders to state legislatures where action on the amendment is pending:

> W. G. McAdoo—Democracy does not mean rule of men. It means rule of the people. The issues in the forthcoming national campaign are of such outstanding importance that women ought to be allowed a voice in determining them. Why should not Louisiana gain the distinction of being the 36th state to consummate this great act of justice to American women and thus unite the women to the men of America in a political partnership which will strengthen democratic institution for all generations to come?
>
> U. S. Senator Key Pittman—The only question is, Shall the women of the country be permitted to vote for the Presidential candidate at the coming election, or shall their enfranchisement be delayed?
>
> Former U. S. Senator James Hamilton Lewis—Am pleased to learn Louisiana will shortly join Illinois and west in progressive movement of suffrage based on intelligence and character without regard to sex. This action in behalf of women will do much to dissipate the slander that the south retards political progress and lags behind in progressive movements.
>
> Congressman John E. Raker—The adoption by the Louisiana legislature of this Federal amendment will place this state and its neighbors at the van of legislation which will enfranchise 20,000,000 women. It is a golden opportunity and we are all watching with interest. No legislative act within the last 50 years will have done more for the citizens of America.

Women in Industry

Department Conducted by Marie L. Obenauer

ON the eve of the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, which meets this month in Montreal, the question arises in the minds of many close observers of the great organization's career whether the effort to put women on the Executive Council will be renewed. No definite announcements have been made, and the indications are not hopeful for renewal of the efforts this year.

Because of the pressure for place on this influential body, and the custom, rather than the constitutional provision, of long tenure of office, the efforts to get women on the council have taken the form lately of motions to increase the council membership. The contention of the supporters of the motion was that enlarging the membership would remove any fear that the election of a woman would supplant some man now serving. The efforts, however, have been defeated on the curious ground that "no class lines" should be drawn or even recognized and that increasing the number of members simply to make room for women, or supplanting a man just to make room for a woman, would be doing one or the other or both. The argument is a singular illustration of the ease with which the mental gear shift can slip into reserve under certain conditions. It suggests in this instance that the mechanism has run too long without repair or replacement.

In the American Federation of Labor are the great women-employing as well as the great men-employing crafts. In some of these crafts women constitute more than half of the workers. Labor men quite generally agree that women in industry work on the whole under certain handicaps not attached to man labor; that the conditions under which women work may hold peculiar hazards to which men are not exposed; and that the presence of women in certain crafts under certain conditions conflicts with traditional ideas about "proper employment for women." Yet keeping women off the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, where policies are shaped which vitally affect these peculiar concerns of women, is "refusing to recognize or draw a sex line." To mere outsiders, the logic does not seem to accord with the usually compelling quality of the organization's arguments.

Some Results of the International Labor Conference

An outstanding feature of the conference held by the English Women's Labor League in London in April was the unanimous adoption of the convention on maternity reached by the International Labor Congress in Washington last fall. This convention pledged the conference to oppose the employment of women for a fixed period before and after childbirth. The Women's League also gave its unanimous support to a resolution calling upon the British Government "to take immediate steps to give effect to the convention by introducing a bill providing benefits for mother and child on a universal and non-contributory basis, and giving full facilities for its passage into law."

It is an interesting fact that the maternity convention so heartily endorsed by the English labor women does not so much initiate a movement designed to protect a child's right to be well-born as it concentrates attention upon and gives stimulus to policies already in effect in twenty-three European countries and in five states of the United States. In the twenty-three countries and five states the periods of enforced unemployment are in most cases two to four weeks before and four to six weeks after childbirth. All of the legislation provides, too, for some measure of assistance during the weeks of compulsory idleness.

Minimum Wage Legislation

The contest over the minimum wage bill, which failed of enactment together with many other women's welfare bills in the last session of the New York legislature, sharply emphasizes the need of current, comprehensive and reliable information concerning the effect of such legislation *in this country*: It was impossible to collect data on the subject during the war because of abnormal conditions. The close of the war, therefore, confronts the disputants with a shortage of basic information as acute as that which existed before the war. Nevertheless, anticipation of a decline in wages as the influence of the war receded, revived the minimum controversy which was more or less dormant during the war.

The growth, or rather the shaping of much of the equal opportunity sentiment into opposition to minimum wage legislation, has further emphasized the absence of adequate information to settle the question of fact—"Has such legislation restricted the opportunities of adult American women in industry?" The development of the equal opportunity movement makes the already overworked references to the Victorian Wage Boards even less pertinent than they ever were as arguments in favor of a legal minimum wage applicable only to women and children, for this form of minimum wage legislation was rejected in Victoria at the outset on the very grounds on which equal opportunity exponents opposed the bill in the New York legislature. The opponents in the Empire State, as did the Victorian legislators, feared that exempting men would result in excluding women and children from needed employment.

The fact that in Victoria the legislators acted on this fear, and that the Victorian Wage Board rulings have always applied to men as well as women, is by no means proof that the fear was justified. It only forces us back upon experience in this country for information as to the effect of legal wage minima on the employment opportunities of women and children in the dozen states where minimum wage laws have been in effect long enough during normal times to make the information valid.

But the discussion aroused by the New York Minimum Wage bill has thrown into equality bold relief the dearth of adequate information concerning the demands for self and family support which the average woman in industry must meet with her earnings. It has left standing stark and high over the wreck of the legislation the old and vexing ques-

tion: "What is the basis upon which a living wage should be fixed for a woman at work?" No one questions the basis upon which the wage should be fixed for a man. The "normal family"—man, wife and three children—is accepted everywhere as the measure of the demands upon a man's income. We accept it because a complete count of all the families in the nation made every ten years by the United States Census shows that the average family consists of 4.5 members. But the Census has not given us any measurement of demands upon the wage-working woman. We have the results of scores of investigations into the economic status of "selected groups" of wage-earning women in "selected cities" and "selected industries." The studies are made by scores of investigators whose methods reflect investigational policies ranging from straight-out efforts to establish well-developed hallucinations to careful, clear-headed and courageous searches for facts without regard to the contention of factions. The result is a confusion of counsel, inevitable when questions of fact are clouded in a conflict of answers. Year after year we frequent conferences on the minimum wage, hearing "great argument about it and about," and year after year the knowledge acquired thereat brought us out the same door where in we went. Each group of disputants can always "prove by statistics" its particular contention that wage-earning women must have "so much" or need "so little" to meet the demands upon them for self and family support.

But a coast-to-coast count of all wage-earning women, without distinction of rank, age, or wage, and with uniform questions to reveal their economic status in the family or place of abode—such information is not available. If any part of the ten millions now appropriated for the census were allotted for the development of data bearing upon the special problems of women, we could find out from the schedules now in use the number of wage-earning women who are also heads of families; whether they are single, married, widowed or divorced; the number of children which such women have at home, in school and at work. We could find out the number of wage-earning women who are living with parents or relatives, or are adrift as boarders and roomers, and we could get this information by age, race and occupation groups. But for reasons explained in the May number of the SUFFRAGIST, this information will not be taken from the schedules collected in the current census—unless the demand from the women of the country is sharp and clear enough to convince those commissioned to collect census data that it is the part of wisdom to bring this body of data out of cold storage.

When, or if, women reach the point of making this demand, they will not be long in asking for the supplemental questions without which adequate light cannot be shed upon the economic status of the wage-earning women. Unless there is a change in the present attitude of the Census Director, or in the directing personnel, it will not be an easy matter to get the needed questions inserted in the schedule. In fact, the census law itself will have to be so amended as to permit the insertions of the questions, as the general nature of the information provided for in the population census schedule by the law as it stands does not include any data touching wage or economic responsibility. The present Director declared his opposition to the insertion of questions bearing upon the economic status of women, as "such questions were not asked concerning men." That the whole schedule as drawn did provide the information concerning men, which could not be gotten for wage-earning women without the additional questions, did not avail as an argument with the Director. When the argument does avail—with this Director or another—we shall know whether the average wage-earning woman is responsible for the support of herself in whole or in part; and whether beside her own support she shares in the burden of family support. In other words, as we know that the basis for the budget of a wage-earning man—whether he is married or not—is the requirement of a family of five, we shall know whether the basis of the budget of the average wage-earning woman is the partial or full support of one; or the full support of one and fractional support of others.

This would not involve the addition of many or complicated questions to the present schedule; in fact, a workable basis for constructing a budget would be forthcoming if to the questions already on the schedule concerning wage-earning women there could be added queries as to the total family budget for a representative week, and the contributions thereto by the wage-earning women of the family for the same period. Without this basis upon which to construct a budget, wage discussions will continue to get mired in arguments based on opinion, on partial information, and on political expediency.

Information For Legislation

The Texas Child Welfare Commission is authorized to secure ample information to serve as a basis for the recommendations, which it must make to the next session of the legislature, on changes which should be made in the state child-welfare laws. Under this authority, a Children's Code Commission, appointed by the Child Welfare Commission, will make a study of the effect and efficacy of all state, county, and municipal laws on the subject, and will also collect comprehensive information concerning the general conditions which surround Texas children.

English Housing Congestion

Owing, as the English Labor Women claim, to a misunderstanding, the Municipal Conference held in London recently rejected the proposal of the Women's Labor League that unoccupied and partially occupied houses be rationed to relieve the acute housing congestion. The house rationing proposal was a part of resolutions adopted at the April conference of the Women's Labor League, which "viewed with the gravest concern the menace to the national health and social welfare involved in the failure of the Government to deal effectively with the problem of housing." The resolution recites further that the League "feels that efforts to combat tuberculosis and infantile mortality must be largely futile while the present conditions of overcrowding exist; and that the hindrance to marriage and the impossibility of finding adequate accommodation for family life is a serious danger to the social welfare of the community." The women called officially upon the British Government—

(1) "To institute a detailed and public inquiry into the prices of building materials with a view to lessening their cost and breaking down private monopolies."

(2) To make use of building guilds and direct labor.

(3) To raise a national loan for housing.

(4) "To make full use of the knowledge and experience of working women by calling them into consultation in regard to plans for houses and layouts."

In case the house famine was not quickly relieved the League demanded that the Government "introduce a temporary scheme for the rationing of rooms in unoccupied or partially occupied houses."

In connection with the activities of the English labor women to reduce the housing congestion, the proposition which Sir Martin Conway, the housing expert, is pressing is interesting. Sir Martin would substitute ten to thirty floor cooperative houses, covering spaces as large as three hundred yards square, for the wretched little overcrowded hovels with which certain London slum districts now bristle.

"To live in such a cooperative system would solve town dwelling problems and do away with a lot of transport difficulties" is his contention. Sir Martin's plan includes ample room in the lower part of each building for "a club, a school, canteens, recreation rooms, libraries, a creche, playing rooms for children, smoking rooms, a cinema, shops, cooperative stores and the like." To the married woman who has to work, he points out that the children could be sent to the creche while she earns their living in store, mill, factory or office.

Bills in Congress Relating to Women

Department Conducted by Sue S. White

Maternity

THE Senate Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine (Senator Joseph I. France of Maryland, chairman) held a public hearing on the Sheppard-Towner bill (S. 3259, H. R. 10925) on Wednesday, May 12, 1920. Speaking in favor of the bill were: Dr. Anna E. Rude, director of the division of hygiene, Children's Bureau, Department of Labor; Dr. J. Witridge Williams, obstretrician-in-chief, Johns Hopkins Hospital; Miss Anne Martin, Mrs. Josephus Daniels, Mrs. Henry W. Keyes, Mrs. Ellis Asby Yost, legislative representative of the National W. C. T. U.; W. F. Bigelow, editor of *Good Housekeeping Magazine;* Miss Mary Stewart, of the Woman's National Republican Executive Committee; Mrs. Maud Wood Park, of the League of Women Voters; Dr. S. Josephine Baker, director of division of child hygiene, Department of Health, New York City; Mrs. Whitman Cross, chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Children's Bureau; Mrs. Florence Kelly, of the National Consumers' League; Dr. Richard A. Bolt, director American Child Hygiene Association; Miss Alta Elizabeth Dines, supervisor of maternity work, Henry Street Settlement Nursing Service, New York City; Miss Ethel Smith, of the National Women's Trade Union League, and Mrs. Francis A. St. Clair, representing the Daughters of the American Revolution. H. B. Anderson, representing the American Medical Liberty League, appeared in opposition to the bill.

Most of the speakers discussed the bill on its merits, but Mrs. Kelly struck out in protest against the dilatory methods of Congress with the question, "Why does Congress wish to have mothers and babies die?" She said: "This seems an exceedingly sad occasion, the third hearing on this bill, which was introduced in 1918. Another year has elapsed and the question that is arising in people's minds is quite different from the question that had to be dealt with in 1918 and 1919. The cause as to the number of deaths was perfectly clear two years ago. The amendments that have been incorporated in the bill were discussed two years ago. They were discussed again a year ago. The hogs were discussed and the boll weevil was discussed. * * * Actions speak louder than words, and inaction shrieks to heaven at the present time."

Mrs. Kelly's reference to "hogs and boll weevil" was due to the comparison made by other speakers as to the appropriation of $47,000,000 for healthy crops and animals and the $4,000,000 asked for by the sponsors of the maternity bill. It has been pointed out, again and again, that 23,000 mothers die in child-birth and nearly a quarter of a million babies die under one year of age, annually, in the United States; and that the maternity mortality and infant mortality from maternity causes have not decreased in the United States during the past fifty years.

The supporters of the bill urge its passage as a measure which will be beneficial to mothers and children of both the urban and rural population. The rural problem was especially treated by Miss Martin, who pointed out that in proportion to the population, a very large percentage of the mothers and babies dying from maternity causes are in the rural areas. She said: "As a result of investigation of the Children's Bureau, it has been found in Montana, for instance, that the death of mothers is double the death rate of mothers throughout the United States; and that the infant death rate is as high in rural areas of the Western States that have been investigated as it is in the industrial city districts in other parts of the country, which shows that the rural areas are in special need of help."

Labor

The Women's Bureau is in grave danger, from lack of an appropriation. The Campbell-Kenyon bill, making the Women's Bureau statutory, has passed the House but not the Senate. The Appropriations Committee of the House reported a provision for a $75,000 appropriation, but this item was eliminated from the sundry civil bill as it passed the House, upon a point of order raised by Representative Blanton of Texas. Until the Women's Bureau is made

statutory it is not proof against such a point of order on its appropriation. The Senate must therefore pass the Campbell-Kenyon bill before the sundry civil bill is passed so as to protect the appropriation; or else the Senate Appropriations Committee must not only make the appropriation, but also see that the item is protected by a special rule in the Senate. A letter sent out by the National Women's Trade Union League asks for telegrams to the chairman of the Appropriations Committee (Senator Francis E. Warren, of Wyoming) and other members of the committee, urging that they provide the appropriation and protest it by a special rule.

On May 26, the Senate agreed to an amendment providing for a $75,000.00 appropriation. The amount recommended by the Secretary of Labor is $150,000. The other members of the Appropriations Committee are Senators Reed Smoot of Utah, Wesley L. Jones of Washington, Charles Curtis of Kansas, William S. Kenyon of Iowa, Lawrence Y. Sherman of Illinois, Asle J. Gronna of North Dakota, Frederick Hale of Maine, Selden P. Spencer of Missouri, Lawrence C. Phipps of Colorado, Truman H. Newberry of Michigan, Lee S. Overman of North Carolina, Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma, John Walter Smith of Maryland, Charles A. Culberson of Texas, Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama, Marcus A. Smith of Arizona, Edward J. Gay of Louisiana, William J. Harris of Georgia.

The letter also says: "Will you please write at once to both Senators from your own state, asking them to support the appropriation when it comes to a vote in the Senate?"

Unless something is done to save the situation for the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor it will cease to operate on July 1st.

Rank For Army Nurses

The Army Reorganization bill, which includes the section providing for rank for army nurses, was, on May 27, agreed upon by the Conference Committee. Although the section relating to rank for army nurses has passed both houses, it will be of no effect until both houses act upon the agreement of the Conference Committee. The Conference Committee that had the matter under consideration is composed of Senators Wadsworth, Chamberlain and Thomas and Representatives Kahn, Anthony, McKenzie and Dent.

Mothers' Pensions

It is not expected that any action will be taken on the Federal Mothers' Pension bill introduced by Representative Marion E. Rhodes, of Missouri, at this session of Congress, although Mr. Rhodes reports there is considerable interest in the bill from all parts of the country, as evidenced by letters which come to him daily.

Mothers' pension bills applying to the District of Columbia have been introduced by Representative Tinkham in the House and Senator Curtis in the Senate. The two bills are identical and provide that the Board of Children's Guardians of the District of Columbia is authorized to grant, out of the appropriation for the board and care of children, allowances to mothers with children under sixteen years of age, dependent upon them for support, and providing that the aid furnished shall be sufficient to enable the mothers to care for their children properly in their own homes.

Aliens

The Anthony bill (H. R. 10435), providing that no distinction shall be made in matters of naturalization because of sex, is still with the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, as is also the Rogers bill (H. R. 12749), which provides that after the ratification of the suffrage amendment no American woman shall lose her citizenship by marrying an alien, and that no alien woman shall acquire citizenship by marrying an American citizen.

Civil Service

Senate Bill 3457, introduced by Senator McLean, providing for an amendment to Civil Service law so that certificates for the eligible list shall not specify sex, is before the Senate Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

House Bill 11,234, introduced by Represenative Fess, providing for an amendment to the Civil Service law so that the Civil Service Commission shall consist of five persons, not less than two of them women, is before the House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Increase in Pay for Women Employes

Another appropriation that has passed the House and is now before the Appropriations Committee of the Senate is the increase in pay to 4,000 women employed in the U. S. Bureau of Engraving and Printing. These women who are skilled workers are paid less than men employed by the Government on unskilled labor, and even the new rates will not give them as much. The cause of the women employes was carried to the floor of the House by Representative Cleveland Newton, Republican member from Missouri, who offered the necessary amendments to the report of the House Appropriations Committee on the sundry civil appropriation bill. Representative Gallivan of Massachusetts, Democratic member of the House Appropriations Committee spoke in the women's behalf against the majority of his committee. The increase was opposed by Representative Good, Republican, of Iowa, chairman of the committee.

The reversal of the committee's action was secured largely through an intensive lobby carried on by the women employes of the Bureau themselves, who interviewed personally every member of the House and told in their own words the need for this legislation.

?!

THERE is a superstition, held by most Europeans, that the American woman spends most of her time eating candy and getting divorced.—**St. John Ervine.**

ONCE opposed to woman suffrage he is now ready and willing to tell the women of New York the best way to work for the success of the Republican party. I was delighted with the stand that he has taken."—**Mrs. Charles Sticks of St. Louis on Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr.**

They Say

THE West which has long felt the power of women's votes looks with increasing amazement upon the failure of the East to ratify. The East itself is beginning to wonder what is the matter.

The Philadelphia *Ledger* doubts that the opposition in Delaware is purely personal obstinacy of individual legislators.

A Delaware Mystery

There is something sinister and mysterious in the situation in the Delaware House of Representatives with respect to the suffrage amendment. It has been intimated in more than one quarter that the influences that have thus far succeeded in delaying the ratification have but a remote conection with the reasons assigned. Members of the House have been represented as reflecting the wishes of their constituents in their unwillingness to grant the women the right to vote; but the traditions of Delaware politics have been suddenly smashed to bits if this is the true reason for the deadlock.

The powerful political leaders in that state and elsewhere in the nation have not usually been so impotent to get results in an issue so important and far-reaching as this suffrage question. Can it be that any of them are playing false with the women? Are they responsible for the failure of Delaware to ratify because they are at heart opposed to this act of justice to the women citizens or because they fear for their own tenure of power if women are given a voice in the fall elections? These are suspicions that are being entertained more and more widely. If influential Republican politicians are, as suspected, playing a game of treachery to the women voters, they cannot hope to maintain the secret long. They will have only themselves to blame if the women of the country, in their righteous indignation, fasten the responsibility for that treachery on the whole Republican party. This is something the Delaware leaders and some of their associates in the affairs of the national party would do well to consider seriously.

The Wilmington *Morning News*, which gives a daily editorial on behalf of ratification, interprets the heckling of Chairman Hays correctly as an indication of the national aspect of the suffrage question. This is what it thought of

Heckling Chairman Hays

"The national aspect of the struggle for the ratification of the equal suffrage amendment at Dover was again forcibly brought to light in the heckling of Chairman Hays by suffragists at Washington.

"The national Republican organization is, of course, deeply concerned in the final outcome at Dover and Chairman Hays declares that he has exerted all the influence possible for ratification.

"The questioning to which Mr. Hays was subjected should make the objecting members in the House of Representatives seriously consider how much they will embarrass the national party should they persist in their refusal to ratify. As Mr. Hays says, some other state will ratify if Delaware does not.

"The objecting members of the House owe allegiance to the national party and that is one reason why they should support the amendment. And the Democratic members are under the same obligations to their national organization.

From the Hartford (Conn.) *Times.*

The Crystal Gazer—"You have quarrelled with a woman, I can see another man."

"The refusal of Delaware to ratify means that national leaders of both parties will be called upon to make many explanations. * * *

"Should the amendment not be approved, the objecting members will be defying public sentiment, scorning the advice of the leaders of the party and branding the women of Delaware and of other states as unfit to be trusted with the ballot."

The Colorado Springs *Gazette* declares Governor Holcomb of Connecticut doesn't know an "emergency" when he meets one and in a recent editorial asserts there is—

An Emergency

"The Century dictionary says an emergency 'is an unexpected happening; an unforseen occurrence or condition; specifically, a perplexing contingency or complication of circumstances.'

"Isn't that just the fix the suffrage amendment finds itself in? With 35 ratifications and one to go, Delaware provides the 'unforeseen occurrence or condition.' With the election not many moons off and with some millions of women who ought to vote, but can't if the thirty-sixth state doesn't ratify before November, there certainly exists a 'perplexing contingency or complication of circumstances.'

"It is probable that Connecticut will ratify the amendment when the legislature meets. But Governor Holcomb refuses to call the special session because, he says, this is not an emergency, 'it is only a situation created by the desire of a number of individuals to have the general assembly vote on the amendment.'

"That's all it is, but if that isn't an emergency never a one existed. The trouble lies with Governor Hol-

comb. He is unable to recorgnize an emergency when he meets with one. Certainly it is painful to a state to have a governor like that, don't you think?"

As for Delaware, the Rocky Mountain *News* is still hopeful. It says:

"Delaware legislators, it appears, have undergone a change of heart. Hope is revived that Delaware will yet assume the gallant role of giving the women of America what they have worked so earnestly to obtain and what they have merited so fully by their devoted service to their country.

"Campaign managers will be well advised to lay their plans on the expectation that the whole adult population of the United States, irrespective of sex, will express itself at the polls next November."

Louisiana is appealed to by the Fort Worth *Record* in this succinct paragraph—

"Governor John M. Parker of Louisiana is in favor of suffrage by the quickest method by which it can be obtained. Mayor Martin Behman of New Orleans is in favor of suffrage by the quickest method by which it can be obtained. Louisiana congressional representatives are in favor of suffrage by the quickest method by which it can be obtained. Louisiana lawmakers are in session. If they are wise they will ratify the suffrage amendment. It is coming and why not give the Democrats of America the credit for it?"

The New Orleans *Item*, strong and persistent advocate of suffrage, calls upon all friends of suffrage to work for the Federal amendment in an editorial containing these paragraphs:

The Suffrage Fight

"President Wilson has gone through the usual stages by those who have considered the woman's suffrage question. His first expression strongly favored suffrage by the states' right route. Then he became converted to national suffrage and advocated the Federal amendment.

"Those of us who were among earlier advocates of woman's suffrage had reached the stage of favoring justice to women by any legal and constitutional methods—for our efforts to secure suffrage by the state amendment method convinced us that the enemies of woman's suffrage who are afraid to meet the issue directly are generally to be found vociferously favoring that form of suffrage which is unattainable. In making this statement, we do not mean to reflect on the considerable element which sincerely favors the state suffrage. Today we know that the women of Louisiana are going to be enfranchised through the Federal amendment. And we find at Baton Rouge the enemies of any kind of suffrage alligned with the 'state's rights only' promoters.

"Today in Louisiana we have therefore a situation where the unqualified friends of suffrage are fighting for the Federal amendment.

"In the midst of this situation, where a dispute is going on over theories, we are confronted by various facts.

"One is that only one more state needs to ratify the Federal amendment in order that Federal suffrage may apply to all. Another is that this ratification is inevitable.

"So the situation presented to Louisiana is today principally one of opportunity. To a few men in the Louisiana legislature is given the opportunity of being the direct and immediate instruments for enfranchising millions and millions of women throughout the United States.

A Feminist Library

NOWHERE in the world is there a complete and collected reference library on Woman. At the National Woman's Party Headquarters last summer, one was begun which now contains several hundred books, pamphlets and magazines. These, it is hoped, will serve as a nucleus for a complete library of feminism.

For the lack of just such a collection of books, it is at present almost impossible to gather accurate information in regard to the legal, political or industrial position of women—indeed in regard to anything concerning women—or to understand the significance of the great effort of women throughout the world to attain an equal position in human society. Such a basis of information is obviously essential to present adjustments and to wise progress in the future.

For this feminist library copies of all the early Woman's Rights magazines must be secured. These as well as reports of the early conventions and other accounts of the beginning of the woman's movement can be gotten, in most cases, only from the pioneer suffragists of the country. For these, and for any other books old or new which have to do with the history of suffrage, or the progress of women in this and other countries, we appeal to all our readers. Miss Henry's brief bibliography of feminism which is appearing in the SUFFRAGIST will suggest the kind of books that are needed.

A generous gift of fifty dollars just made to the library by Miss Sue White begins a library fund, and contributions to it will make it possible to buy at once the books most seriously needed.

Copies of the following issues of the SUFFRAGIST are needed for bound volumes to be placed in public libraries.

1914: June 13, July 4, July 11, July 18.

1915: January 23, January 30, February 13, February 20, February 27, March 20, April 24, June 5, July 31.

1916: March 11, December 30, January 10, April 27, June 30, July 7, July 2. 1918: August 17, August 24. 1919: January 18, August 16, August 23.

All books and contributions should be addressed to

Elizabeth Green Kalb,
Literature Department,
14 Jackson Place, Washington.

Books and the Woman

Department Conducted by Alice Henry

IN BROWSING round libraries of late I have been struck by the great chances that exist for women interested in the woman movement to influence the public libraries of their cities. If women persistently ask for books on feminist subjects, that branch of the library is likely to improve. This bibliography, appearing in the present and the last issues of the SUFFRAGIST will be, I hope, of service to women in this respect. It can be used to check up the catalogue of local libraries and be mailed to the librarian asking that the books—all or certain ones indicated—be added to the library. One or two libraries at least, including the Carnegie Library at Pittsburgh, already have small endowments set aside for the purchase of books on matters concerning women.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FEMINISM

(Continued from May Issue)

Fiction, Drama, Poetry

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Ballingtons, The, Frances Squire Potter. Little Brown, 1905. A plea in fiction form for the wife's economic independence.

Candida, Getting Married, Mrs. Warren's Profession, Man and Superman, George Bernard Shaw. Brentano, 1906-1911. Some of Shaw's most distinctly feminist plays.

Cat That Walked by Himself, The (in the Just So Stories), Rudyard Kipling. Doubleday Page, 1902. A fine piece of ethnology, in which Kipling proves to be a good feminist in spite of himself. Makes an admirable reading.

Chance. A Tale in Two Parts, Joseph Conrad. Doubleday Page, 1914. The suppressed woman finding expression.

Craft of the Tortoise, The. A play in four acts, with a preface, Algernon Tassin. Boni Liveright, 1919. "Until Sex Equality exists, the sex antagonism which makes woman as a class fiercely glory in exacting privileges from man will exist."

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Doll's House, Ghosts, Hedda Gabler, Henrik Ibsen. In his collected works edited by William Archer. Scribner, 1906-12. Plays with studies of women and their social environment.

In This Our World (Poems), Charlotte P. Gilman. Small, 1898. Contains many poems constantly used by speakers and writers.

In Vivid Gardens (Poems), Marguerite Wilkinson. Sherman, 1912. "Vivid Gardens" are the souls of women.

Man of Property, The, John Galsworthy. Putnam, 1906. The tragedy of the dependent wife, told with poignancy and reticence.

Medea. In the plays of Euripides translated by Arthur S. Way. Macmillan, 1912.

My Antonia, Willa Sibert Cather. Houghton Mifflin, 1918. One of the finest characters in modern fiction is this Bohemian immigrant girl growing up on the prairies of Nebraska.

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Ordeal of Richard Feverel, The, George Meredith. Scribners, 1917. Written sixty years ago, it upholds a single standard of morals.

Princess, The (a poem), Alfred Tennyson. New edition Stokes, 1910.

Sara Videbeck, a sentimental journey with a practical ending, C. J. L. Almquist, translated by Adolph B. Benson. The first Swedish feminist romance, written in 1839, now brought out for the first time in English by the Oxford University Press and the American Scandinavian Foundation, 1919.

Story of a South African Farm, The, Ralph Iron (pseud.), Olive Schreiner. Roberts Bros., 1888. The modern woman in primitive surroundings. Contains one of the most eloquent and impassioned pleas ever made for a broader life for woman, and especially for her economic independence.

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Women Are People, Alice Duer Miller. Doran, 1917. These verses are written in different veins, but usually with a light satirical touch. Admirably done.

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Woman Voters' Manual, S. E. Foreman and Marjorie Shuler. Century Company, 1918.

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Woman's Work in Municipalities, Mary Ritter Beard. Appleton, 1919. A mine of information upon what women have actually accomplished in this field.

Young Woman Citizen, The, Mary Austin. The Woman's Press, 1919. An introduction to civic responsibility.

Your Congress, Lynn Haines. National Voters League, 1915, Washington.

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Case for the Factory Acts, The, Beatrice Webb. S. Richards, London, 1901. Reasons for the need of protective legislation.

Creative Impulse in Industry, A Proposition for Educators, Helen Marot. Dutton, 1918. Is having a marked influence with industrial managers.

Economic Effects of the War Upon Women and Children in Great Britain, Irene Osgood Andrews and Margaretta A. Hobbs. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, 1918. An accurate summing up of the situation.

Fatigue and Efficiency, Josephine Goldmark, Survey Associates and Russell Sage Foundation, 1911. An authoritative statement, with abundant and convincing illustrations as to the injurious effects of excessive and long-continued fatigue in wage-earning occupations.

From Fireside to Factory, Meta Stern Lilienthal. The Rand School Book-Shop, 1916. A brief, but admirable account of the passage from colonial times and conditions up till today.

Industrial Democracy, Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Longmans, 1897. A background for the study of modern labor problems as they affect women.

Labor Problems and Labor Legislation, John B. Andrews. American Association for Labor Legislation, 1919. A very useful book. Written in a popular style.

Living Wage, The, John A. Ryan. Macmillan, 1906. Advocates minimum wage legislation.

Making Ends Meet, Sue Ainslie Clark and Edith Wyatt. Macmillan, 1911. Wages and living in poorly paid women's trades.

Modern Industry in Relation to the Family, Health, Education and Morality, Florence Kelley. Longmans, Green and Company, 1914. A good introduction to labor questions.

Minimum Wage, The, Rome G. Brown. Minneapolis, 1912. Opposes minimum wage legislation.

Out of Work (second edition), Frances Kellor. Putnam, 1915. Deals especially with the immigrant, the labor market and unemployment, giving much space to women workers.

Report on Condition of Women and Child Wage-earners, in 19 vols, 1910-1913. Published by the United States Department of Commerce and Labor (now divided). The two most useful volumes are perhaps the "History of Women in Industry" (vol. IX), by Helen L. Sumner, and the "History of Women in Trade Unions," by John B. Andrews and W. D. P. Bliss.

Some Ethical Gains from Legislation, Florence Kelley. Macmillan, 1906.

Trade Union Woman, The, Alice Henry. Appleton, 1915. A handbook of women's steady progress in industrial life in the United States, and their advancing power of self-expression.

Wage-earning Women, Anne Marion Maclean. Macmillan, 1910.

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Women as Munition Makers, Amy Hewes and Henriette R. Walter. Russell Sage Foundation, 1917.

Women in Industry, Edith Abbott. Appleton, 1910. An authoritative survey of this field, from early times in New England.

Women's Work and Wages, Edward Cadbury. University of Chicago Press, 1907. The author is a large English employer of woman labor, who advocates organization, as well as improved conditions.

(To be continued)

History of the Amendment

In Congress

Drafted
By Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
1919, Unanimously favorably.

In the House
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
1918, Favorable majority.
1919, Favorable majority.

Voted Upon

In the Senate
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
October 1, 1918, yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the two-thirds vote.
February 10, 1919, yeas 55, nays 29, failing by 1 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
June 4, 1919, yeas 56, nays 25, passing by 2 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

In the House
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by 1 vote over necessary two-thirds majority.
May 21, 1919. Yeas 304, nays 89, passing by 42 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

Ratification to Date

States Which Have Ratified the Amendment

(Those starred ratified at Special Sessions).

		Gov.	Legis.		VOTE Senate	House
1	Wisconsin	R	R	June 10	24–1	54–2
2	*Michigan	R	R	June 10	Unan.	Unan.
3	*Kansas	R	R	June 16	Unan.	Unan.
4	*Ohio	D	R	June 16	27–3	73–6
5	*New York	D	R	June 16	Unan.	Unan.
6	Illinois	R	R	June 17	Unan.	133–4
7	Pennsylvania	R	R	June 24	32–6	153–44
8	Massachusetts	R	R	June 25	34–5	184–77
9	*Texas	D	D	June 29	Unan.	96–21
10	*Iowa	R	R	July 2	Unan.	95–5
11	*Missouri	D	Div.'d.	July 3	28–3	125–4
12	*Arkansas	D	D	July 20	20–2	76–17
13	*Montana	D	R	July 30	38–1	Unan.
14	*Nebraska	R	R	Aug. 2	Unan.	Unan.
15	*Minnesota	R	R	Sept. 8	60–5	120–6
16	*New Hampshire	R	R	Sept. 10	14–10	212–143
17	*Utah	D	D	Sept. 30	Unan.	Unan.
18	*California	R	R	Nov. 1	Unan.	73–2
19	*Maine	R	R	Nov. 5	24–5	72–68
20	*North Dakota	R	R	Dec. 1	38–4	103–6
21	*South Dakota	R	R	Dec. 4	Unan.	Unan.
22	*Colorado	R	R	Dec. 12	Unan.	Unan.
23	Rhode Island	R	R	Jan. 6	37–1	89–3
24	Kentucky	R	Div'd.	Jan. 6	30–8	72–25
25	*Oregon	R	R	Jan. 12	Unan.	Unan.
26	*Indiana	R	R	Jan. 16	43–3	Unan.
27	*Wyoming	R	R	Jan. 27	Unan.	Unan.
28	*Nevada	D	Div'd.	Feb. 7	Unan.	Unan.
29	New Jersey	D	R	Feb. 10	18–2	34–24
30	*Idaho	R	R	Feb. 11	29–6	Unan.
31	*Arizona	R	D	Feb. 12	Unan.	Unan.
32	*New Mexico	R	R	Feb. 19	17–5	36–10
33	*Oklahoma	D	D	Feb. 27		
34	*West Virginia	D	R	March 10	15–14	47–40
35	*Washington	R	R	March 22	Unan.	Unan.

Now in Special Session

Delaware	R	R	Met March 22

Now in Regular Session

Louisiana	D	D	Met May 10, 1920.

States Which Have Defeated the Amendment

		Gov.	Legis.		VOTE Senate	House
1	Alabama	D	D	Sept. 2	18–13	No vote
2	Georgia	D	D	July 24	39–8	118–20
3	Mississippi	D	D	Jan. 21	23–22(For)	96–23
4	South Carolina	D	D	Jan. 24	No vote	93–21
5	Virginia	D	D	Feb. 12	24–10	62–22
6	Maryland	D	D	Feb. 17	18–9	64–36

States Which Have Not Acted

		Gov.	Legis.	
1	Connecticut	R	R	No regular session this year.
2	Vermont	R	R	No regular session this year.
3	North Carolina	D	D	Special session in July.

States Which Cannot Take Action This Year

(Because of Constitutional Provision requiring election to intervene between submission of and action on an amendment).

		Gov.	Legis.	
1	Florida	D	D	Majority of legislature asked Congress to pass amendment.
2	Tennessee	D	D	Presidential suffrage state.

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